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## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### COMPETING SHIPBUILDING FACILITIES MAY EXCEED DEMAND

Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 12 Jan 80 pp 3-6

[Text] The Arab Shipbuilding and Repair Yard, known as ASRY, is now a well established facility whose economic future appears reasonably sound. During the first half of 1979 the yard was operating at percent capacity and since that time it has been fully booked.

Whether ASRY will continue to make such huge profits, however, remains to be seen, for not far away in Dubai there is a competitor, the largest drydock perhaps in the world.

The story began in 1968, when Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, the Saudi Oil Minister suggested the idea of a drydock as the first OAPEC joint venture project. At that time the commercial prospects for such a project were good. With the continued closure of the Suez Canal it seemed probable that a large number of Very Large Crude Carriers (VLCCs) would be built and used to carry the crude, and would eventually end up using the drydock. It was noted that there were very few yards equipped to repair and provide the maintenance work for such vessels at the time.

Then there were no such well established facilities on the main oil routes and the sailing time lost by a carrier in having to make a detour to a shipyard in Portugal, Spain or Germany was highly costly. As the project started to materialise the ideal site for it was Bahrain.

Relatively well trained and educated labour was one of the factors that favoured the choice of the island Sheikdom and Saudi Arabia which had always given generously for the welfare and progress of Bahrain spoke out in its favour.

The shipping picture was radically changed in the following six years, the time it took OAPEC to finalise the project. Soon the 700 or so VLCCs that were passing through the Gulf carrying crude supplies to the West found more strategic points along the world's oil supply routes. Then the tanker market was depressed.

Despite these constraints the Bahrain drydock (ASRY) has managed to maintain a fairly high level of operation. The Manager of the dock, Antonio Machado Lopes insists that ASRY's record of operations reflects and is attributed to Bahrain's favoured position among other repair centers along oil supply routes.

#### Local Labour Difficulties

Another important factor changed in Bahrain between the time of ASRY's conception and its realisation. That was the labour situation. Though the post oil-price increase came to Bahrain with its resultant boom later than other Gulf oil exporters, it was no less productive of both employment and wealth.

It was helped along by the establishment of the Sheikhdum's offshore banking system with the prospects of attractively paid clean desk jobs. Bahrain found it necessary to recruit large scores of foreigners if the drydock project was to see the light. Foreigners were brought in to fill the senior administrative positions which to nationals was quite annoying.

ASRY now employs over a thousand workers, the majority being foreigners from foreman level upwards. The management is largely Portuguese or British while the workers have been recruited from the Philippines and the Indian-subcontinent.

Some 250 Bahrainis are currently undergoing training at ASRY, the intention being to place them in upper echelon positions after they have proved their competence. The main result of the scarcity of Bahrainis--or indeed any other Arab nationals with drydock experience--is that plans for the Arabisation of the project will move ahead more slowly than originally anticipated.

Originally it was planned to run the yard with Bahrainis or other Arabs in charge within a period of about ten years after its opening. Now there are no confident predictions as to what the date will be when complete Arabisation takes place.

So far, local observers have reported, Bahrainis and other Arab nationals have taken more readily to personnel and finance occupations than to other aspects of management, and at the level of the skilled worker, Bahrainis seem to have shown a distinct preference and aptitude for electrical work.

#### No Considerable Delays in Construction

The actual construction of the drydock went ahead with only relatively minor delays. ASRY, as a company, was formally incorporated under Bahraini law at the end of 1974. Its first chairman is Bahrain's Minister of Works, Power and Water, Mr. Majid Al Jishi. The management of the company so far has been mainly recruited from the Portuguese shipyard at Lisnave, which took on the management contract in 1974 and is still associated with the project although only in an advisory capacity.



The contract which Lisnave signed involved the construction period which was projected until 1984. Lisnave now plays a supervisory role with ASRY and retains considerable influence. It was Lisnave which recruited the whole docking team to service the first tanker to use the facility, the Ambrosiana, a couple of years ago.

#### ASRYMAR Seeks Wider Markets

In order to ensure that the yard would have sufficient business to guarantee its economic future, a special company was set up in London, the Arab Shipbuilding and Repair Yard Marketing Services Co. (ASRYMAR) and there are now some 14 different agents operating in the major tanker owning countries worldwide whose business is to see that ASRY is employed to capacity. So far their efforts have been reasonably satisfactory. The question, however, is what happens when Dubai comes on stream.

On the one hand, it is clear that ASRY has a good start, of approximately 18 months, and so far the Dubai facility has no proper management team. Therefore, in the short term Bahrain's fortunes seem assured.

Looking further ahead, however, it seems that some form of cooperation will have to be worked out with Dubai to ensure that neither Yard suffers from cutthroat competition. Certainly competition between the two facilities is likely to be tough no matter what the agreement. Acting General Manager Fernando Fernandez points out that only 10 out of the world's 40 shipyards capable of taking large tankers will be needed to service existing tonnage.

Even so, he expressed optimism that ASRY, balancing Singapore in the East and north-European docks in the West will be able to retain its share of the market.

#### Pressures To Cut Costs

That of course, depends largely on whether ASRY can keep its costs down. ASRY claims to be price competitive, but according to Middle East Economic Digest (MEED) this needs closer examination. ASRY accepts that wage rates make it impossible to compete with docks like Singapore but it maintains that it is at least as cheap as south European docks, and cheaper than north European docks.

It has been said that ASRY is cutting prices to attract business but the company denies, maintaining that full commercial rates are now being charged, the 20 percent discount, in force during the first nine months of the dock's operation, is no longer being applied.

On the other hand most experts state that the Bahrain yard cannot make a profit in the foreseeable future. Recession in the world tanker market has meant that drydocks everywhere are losing money. In any event ASRY was

not meant to turn a profit in the first years of its operation. What the company is aiming at now, therefore, is simply to reduce losses by more than a third. Fortunately, ASRY's shareholders have agreed to meet the expected losses of the yard during the coming few years and the company's \$350 million paid up capital was sufficient to cover costs until the end of 1978.

Also Lisnave has been pursuing a cautious management policy, gradually adding more sophisticated equipment as the need seemed to arise. Today the dock is equipped to handle VLCCs up to approximately 450,000 dwt in its 375 by 75 metres basin and is capable of providing a wide spectrum of services including major refits and marine and insurance inspections. Additionally, there is room to build a second drydock beside the first, but because of the present recession it is unlikely that work will begin on it before some time.

#### ASRY Essential Landmark in Bahrain's Industrial Base

What must be kept in mind, however, is that ASRY should not be viewed apart from other projects linked to it. After all, ASRY, along with other projects, notably ALBA (Aluminum Bahrain) is part of an industrial base which the government expects will provide a solid foundation for the island Sheikhdom's future as a service center. Its presence brings both employment and smaller industries to Bahrain. Last year ASRY had service agreements with local companies amounting to \$2.6 million.

At present though, the yard's ultimate economic viability remains in doubt and is likely to remain so as long as the worldwide recession remains. When the situation does begin to improve, Bahrain will have to cope with competition from Dubai, and only then will it be clear whether ASRY's long term prospects are on the brighter side or not.

CSO: 4820

TRADE BETWEEN MIDDLE EAST, FINLAND PICKS UP

Beirut AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 14 Jan 80 pr 9, 10

[Text]

Finland, which is seeking to boost its trade links with the Middle East has discussed the possibility of concluding an economic and commercial cooperation agreement with the UAE, it was announced in Abu Dhabi last week. The discussions involved UAE ministers and a 21-member Finnish delegation headed by Foreign Trade Minister Esko Rekola.

The delegation, which included representatives of private companies, was due to go on to visit Qatar, Oman, Bahrain and Kuwait. The official UAE news agency reported that the Finns, who spent four days in the UAE, were keen to explore the possibility of participating in power, engineering, telecommunications, cold storage and health projects.

Although trade between Finland and the Middle East has progressed since the early '70s, when it was practically non-existent, it still represents a small fraction of Finland's total trade and remains erratic. Exports to the region totalled about \$235 million in 1977, \$266 million the following year and \$166.43 million in the first half of 1979, in each case representing just over 3 per cent of Finland's total exports. Imports have declined from \$402 million in 1977 to \$310 million in 1978 and to \$110.28 million in the first six months of last year, their share of Finland's total imports dropping in the same periods from 5.3 per cent to 3.9 per cent and then to 2.3 per cent.

None of the countries on the Finnish delegation's itinerary has until now played a role of any significance in Finland's trade. As far as imports are concerned, Saudi Arabia and Iran dominate, with 44 and 26 per cent respectively of the total over the past two and a half years. Although imports from Iran came to a virtual standstill after the Shah's overthrow,



they began to pick up again and the value of imports in the first half of last year was exactly the same as in the first half of 1978.

The figures show a distinct pattern of heavy imports from the big oil producers in the second half of any year and a sharp decline in the first half of the following year. The pattern of imports from Finland's fourth supplier, Israel, is the reverse; presumably these imports are largely of seasonal fruits.

The Middle Eastern country which has made the biggest inroads into the Finnish market is Iraq, which supplied 14 per cent of all imports since mid-1977 and more than 22 per cent since mid-1978. This has gone in tandem with a steady growth in major contracts won by Finnish firms in Iraq (*An-Nahar Arab Report & MEMO*, November 13, 1978).

Finland's record in exporting to the Middle East and North Africa reveals a more stable and balanced pattern; there appear to be no fluctuations for season — major exports are paper, wood, wood pulp and manufacturer, transport equipment, textiles and machinery — and none of the six biggest customer countries can be said to dominate. Iran, with 20 per cent of the total, would have made a better showing had imports from Finland not dried up in the first quarter of last year, but they had begun to improve by the middle of the year, when Iran ranked fourth among Finland's clients in the region.

Iraq is once again the big success story; Finland's ninth market in the area in the first half of 1977, it jumped to first place in the corresponding period of last year — although the slump in exports to Iran was a contributory factor.

Not only has two-way trade between the two countries grown hugely, the balance of trade is now about nil. Finland enjoys a small, but healthy and regular, balance of trade with the world as a whole and the Middle East and North Africa are no exception. Only Iran, Saudi Arabi and Iraq recorded a significant trade surplus with Finland during the period under consideration. (Sudan has maintained a steady flow of exports and minimal imports from Finland, but the former represent less than 1 per cent of the regional total).

Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, Lebanon, Morocco, Kuwait and Bahrain all recorded minor trade deficits; the Arab country with the most serious deficit with Finland was Egypt, which imported \$118 million worth of goods during the period, but exported only \$16 million worth; the level of imports moreover remained remarkably stable, not varying by more than \$4 million a year.

The following table shows details of trade between Finland and the Middle East and North Africa over the 30 months up to mid-1979.

Value of Trade between Finland and the Middle East and North Africa  
(in SUS millions)

Imports from	1977		1978		1979	Total	% of Middle East
	1st half	2nd half	1st half	2nd half	1st half		
Saudi Arabia	85.14	131.94	29.52	125.04	16.17	387.81	44.1
Iran	24.81	93.27	17.01	77.82	17.01	229.92	26.1
Iraq	0.87	42.33	—	38.88	47.43	125.19	14.2
Israel	18.81	3.63	23.04	2.70	29.07	77.25	8.8
Morocco	3.93	0.87	4.74	3.42	8.82	21.78	2.5
Egypt	2.82	1.74	4.53	1.92	4.98	15.99	1.8
Algeria	0.96	2.04	2.01	1.92	1.98	8.91	1.0
Sudan	2.25	1.59	0.96	1.83	1.23	7.86	0.9
Others	0.72	0.96	1.08	1.35	0.84	4.95	0.6
Total	140.31	278.37	82.89	254.88	127.53	879.66	100.0
Exports to							
Iran	41.31	48.81	46.98	47.88	8.43	193.41	20.1
Saudi Arabia	25.86	22.26	19.74	34.65	45.30	147.81	15.4
Egypt	21.12	25.20	24.51	25.17	22.44	118.44	12.3
Iraq	3.84	19.20	13.44	19.02	47.46	102.96	10.6
Israel	10.26	18.90	21.81	19.65	25.47	96.09	10.0
Algeria	6.16	21.24	12.42	16.92	26.28	85.02	8.8
Libya	5.46	4.62	6.30	5.01	19.41	40.80	4.2
Tunisia	8.64	3.60	8.76	6.09	8.19	35.28	3.7
Lebanon	1.53	4.83	6.42	3.78	9.57	26.13	2.7
Morocco	5.79	5.73	3.84	4.29	5.58	25.23	2.6
Kuwait	1.92	2.04	2.16	2.28	8.67	17.07	1.8
Bahrain	2.01	3.15	2.76	2.73	4.38	15.03	1.6
Others	19.35	5.01	6.09	13.41	13.99	59.85	6.2
Total	155.25	184.59	175.23	200.85	247.17	963.12	100.0

CSO: 4820

WRITER DISCUSSES ISLAM VIS-A-VIS SOVIET IMPERIALISM

Paris LE MONDE in French 15 Jan 80 p 2

[Article by Cherif Mecheri, honorary prefect and former secretary general of the Elysee]

[Text] Facing a chessboard disorganized by the rivalries of the Islamic world, a chess champion, the USSR, recently seized without a pause the Afghanistan square which, until now, it occupied only intermittently through a third party.

Standing as the recognized defender of the Third World and as the national ally of Islam, the USSR was generally able to combine its political goals and economic imperatives by selling arms and draining raw materials. However, this strategy was not without errors in calculation and risks of failure; thus, on the world chessboard, the USSR successively lost its winning pieces, i.e., Egypt, Sudan, Somalia and, in the near future, Libya.

The game has now begun in Afghanistan where, ceasing to act according to its usual tactics through a third party, the Kremlin rushed in with its armored tanks, aviation and army in defiance of the most basic rights and international ethics. Today's aggression is more serious than that of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, these two countries having belonged to its sphere of influence for a long time. As it is being conducted, the invasion of Afghanistan is a sort of "first" in the conquest of a Muslim country, with risks of serious destabilization in Asia and the Near East.

Soviet imperialism which is determined to control gradually the oil fields of the Near East and, in that context, Ethiopia and Aden, as well as research areas or transportation lines, will now come up against the fierce resistance of rugged mountagnards. Kerb Islam and Jamial Islam, the two political factions partisan of social democracy and political freedom, merged to honor their "blood pact." The Harzardjat (4,000 meters high) mountagnards proclaimed the Djihad, the Holy War, and the Kanabad fighters have already appealed to their brothers in the Russian Islamic republics.



The Islamic republics have not forgotten that many of their mosques were abolished and changed into sports arenas or restaurants. This procedure is found wherever communism has succeeded in establishing itself. Prince Sihanouk was recently telling me that Islamic mosques--Islam is the second-ranking religion of Cambodia after Buddhism--had been literally changed into pigsties by Pol Pot. While in Rome on a visit to Paul VI as head of a delegation of ulemas sent by King Faysal, Sheik El Harkame of Saudi Arabia, secretary general of the World Islamic League, told me: /"The Marxist-Leninist Soviet Union is atheistic and, therefore, anti-religious. This is why the Islamic League will always fight against that country, even if we must have recourse to a Holy War." [in italics]/

The West seems to forget that Islam, which numbers 600 million believers, is awakening. The close call against the great mosque in Mecca and the invasion of Afghanistan forced it to face the enemies of religion and, at the forefront, the Kremlin's ventures. Sunnists and Shiites, overcoming their liturgical differences and historical oppositions now form a compact bloc, the Islamic faith.

The tremendous emotion aroused by events in Afghanistan testifies to the deep awareness of all the world's Muslims (Pakistani, Indonesians, Malaysians, Filipinos and Africans) and their sacred adherence to the one and indivisible "Umma." In this beginning month of 1980, the Muslims have one main objective, namely, to come to the aid of Afghan patriots and liberate them from Soviet domination.

It is undoubtedly an opportunity to be seized lucidly by the West to overcome, in the Islamic world and much beyond, any temptation to accept the fait accompli. It must unite scattered forces to erect finally an impassable barrier against the Kremlin's expansionism and, for the first time in a long while, to checkmate it.

6857

CSO: 4900

## AFGHANISTAN

### SITUATION AS REPORTED IN CZECHOSLOVAK PRESS

#### Interview with Rahim Rafat

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Jan 80 p 1

[Interview with Rahim Rafat, chief editor of the Afghan daily KABUL NEW TIMES by special correspondent Milos Krejci of RUDE PRAVO: "Direct Contact with the People"; date of interview not given]

[Text] The English language daily KABUL NEW TIMES came into existence after the December revolution and began publication 1 January 1980; its chief editor Rahim Rafat formerly worked for the Afghan press agency BACHTAR. The newspaper is directed particularly toward informing foreign countries.

[Question] Could you compare the reality of Afghanistan with what is currently being said about Afghanistan in the west?

[Answer] That would be, as they say here, like heaven and earth. Western propaganda is painting the situation in Afghanistan in dark colors and at the same time is silent about the fact that the second stage of our April revolution which began on 27 December 1979 meant that the person who wanted to abuse and discredit the revolution had to leave. There is no reason to conceal the fact that Amin was guilty of such methods as the baseless arresting of respectable persons, communists as well as noncommunists, and illegal jailings and also the deaths of many people. Do not be surprised that we brand Amin as a person who brought our revolution to ruination. Our country is undergoing a national democratic revolution and our government wants to attract to its side all honorable and progressive persons of every class.

[Question] How are the new developments explained to your people and what is the means of informing them?

[Answer] In a country like ours, it is very difficult and complicated. In my estimation only about 1.5 percent of our people get their information from the press and only 8 to 10 percent from radio broadcasts. Television is essentially limited to Kabul alone and for the time being there are only a small number of viewers. So we turn to our traditional means of reaching the people, the direct dialog, as we say--from heart to heart. In other words, we travel throughout the country and visit families and larger groups of people, we talk with them, we answer their questions, we explain the domestic and foreign situations, for example, the Soviet aid and the intent and goals of the revolution. In short, we have personal contact with the masses of the people. We do not rely too much on the information media because they have a limited range and also because for many years they were misused by the governing class as well as the counter-revolution which disparaged certain sacred concepts such as democracy or socialism.

Direct contact and the spoken word are traditions of long standing here and therefore we consider them as the most effective means for our propaganda and political work.

#### Babrak Karmal Faces Problems

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jan 80 pp 1, 7

[Article by Milos Krejci, special correspondent of RUDE PRAVO in Kabul: "The Revolution Catches its Breath: Sensitive and Energetic Actions of Babrak Karmal's Government"]

[Text] Kabul, 10 January--As emphasized by its representatives, the new Afghan government of Babrak Karmal is facing difficult tasks including particularly the resolution of economic problems and carrying out the program of the April revolution. Up to now there was not enough time nor tranquillity to carry out these plans since priority had to be given to the internal security of the country, safeguarding the borders and fighting the counterrevolution as well as diversionists sent into the country by counterrevolutionary elements abroad, particularly in Pakistan. These hostile elements are well equipped with both arms and money which are being provided by the United States, China, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

The economic situation is complicated and now in winter even more so. In mountainous areas, such as Kabul, there are heavy night freezes. Seven kilograms of wood which formerly cost 7 to 8 afghans now cost about 30 afghans. There is no full employment in the country--the revolution lacked the power to overcome this ancient heritage. Wages are not going up. Consequently much of the population has difficulty obtaining the basic necessities of life because their costs keep rising. The government is expending all its energies in solving these problems. Without the basic conditions of internal and external security it is very difficult and Soviet assistance in this respect is incalculable for the revolutionary forces in the country.



There are specific conditions in Afghanistan which the revolution must take into account. For centuries strong tribal and family traditions have dominated here; the central government as a rule controlled only the main cities while the other parts of the country were in the hands of the tribes. This situation still exists and complicates such things as the transportation of goods. There are no railroads in the country and since predatory and terrorist bands are active in certain regions, highway transportation must be carried out in convoys escorted by military guards.

The former revolutionary leader N. M. Taraki who was--as was reported here--fatally wounded during the Amin coup, had already initiated a dialog with the leaders of the tribes. Babrak Karmal also respects the traditions of the tribes and, after the interruption caused by Amin's despotism, is continuing the discussions with the tribes and at the same time is also attempting to win over progressive forces as well as those who so far are hesitating or who are not yet clear about the situation. One must remember that many people in Afghanistan are living with ideas rooted in tribal orders of the feudal system and that revolutionary concepts meet head on against myriad prejudices and confused opinions to which were added Amin's terror and the physical liquidation of persons without trial together with the abuse of revolutionary slogans.

Babrak Karmal professes to be an heir of Taraki. He is a personality well known in Afghanistan. He was a member of parliament since its beginning and deputy prime minister after the revolution. His government is trying not only to consolidate conditions at home but also to have good neighborly relations with countries such as Pakistan and China which for the time being are behaving in a hostile manner toward his country. China stands united with the west against Afghanistan and is activating small Maoist groups in the country. Pakistan is the retreat for opponents of the revolution, adherents of the monarchy as well as many former officers but also rank and file soldiers and also many businessmen and members of certain tribes. On orders of their tribal chiefs these people are working against their native land from the territory of Pakistan with substantial help from American, Chinese and other agents. In view of the geographic conditions the borders were always difficult to control except for official crossings. The dangers threatening from these directions cannot be underestimated. The threat of counterrevolutionary and nationalistic forces is continuous.

The government of Babrak Karmal is dealing with all these difficulties with sensitivity but with energy and on the assumption that there will be no drastic changes the prospects are good that with Soviet assistance he will be able to consolidate the situation and create conditions favorable to realizing the goals of the revolution.

## Babrak Karmal Press Conference

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jan 80 p 7

[Report on Babrak Karmal press conference of 10 January by Jan Rezek, special correspondent of CTK (Czechoslovak Press Agency)]

[Text] The Afghan people are grateful for the firm and sincere solidarity of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the revolutionary and democratic forces of all continents which made it possible for their homeland to avert the dangers of a civil war and to drive back the attacks of the counterrevolution supported by American imperialism, China and other reactionary forces. This was emphasized at Thursday's press conference in Kabul by Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party, chairman of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of the ADR [Afghan Democratic Republic].

In his replies to questions posed by domestic and foreign reporters Babrak Karmal explained the basic program principles of the new stage in the national democratic revolution in the country. He emphasized that this is a revolutionary current with a clear-cut, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal orientation.

He said that the new revolutionary government is firmly committed to fulfilling all of its program objectives with the help of the broad front of all patriotic and democratic forces in the country. Among the first measures in liquidating the consequences of the Amin regime is the release of political prisoners in Kabul and in other regions of the country. So far 10,000 persons have been set free and the releases are continuing, reported Babrak Karmal.

After the April revolution when Afghanistan was faced with increasing counterrevolutionary attacks from without instigated by the United States and China the ADR appealed more than once to the Soviet Union with a request for help, said Babrak Karmal. The Soviet Union refrained from such action until the time when aggressive actions directly threatened the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country. It was only then that the Soviet Union decided to send a limited contingent of Soviet troops to the ADR, on the basis of the request of our government, to protect Afghanistan from external aggression. This contingent will be withdrawn from our territory just as soon as the United States, acting together with Peking and reactionary circles in Pakistan and Egypt, ends its aggressive policy toward the Afghan Democratic Republic.

In regard to relations with neighboring states Babrak Karmal declared: "We are striving for good relations with the peoples of Pakistan and Iran. I regard relations with these countries optimistically. I believe that in cooperation with the peoples of Pakistan and Iran we can more rapidly make an end of the intrigues of American imperialism and of Peking. The Afghan people," continued Babrak Karmal, "will fight side by side with liberating movements and with Arab states against imperialism and Zionism. It highly appreciates the solidarity of the national liberation movements with the struggle of the Afghan people."

Babrak Karmal further stated that he is continuing the investigation which should reveal America's part in meddling in Afghan affairs. Documents and materials which prove the participation of American imperialism in conspiracies against the Afghan people will be provided to the international public and press in the near future.

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CSO: 2400

# NEW NAVAL CHIEF WARNS AGAINST U.S. BLOCKADE

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian: 28 Jan 80 p 8

/Interview with Adm Seyyed Mahmud Alavi: "Commander of the Iranian Navy: We Will Smash America's Naval Blockade"/

/Text/ Once again the great satan, America, has engaged in political and military maneuvers, following the political failures it has endured as a consequence of its efforts in the United Nations. America, the leader of imperialism, has sent its warships near the Strait of Hormoz; although this empty threat is of no effect, we had an enlightening conversation with Adm Seyyed Mahmud Alavi in order to become familiar with the war readiness of the navy of the Islamic Republic of Iran's armed forces, which you may read as follows:

/Question/ It has been stated that great American navy vessels have anchored around the waters of the Strait of Hormoz. First of all, what approximately is the capability of this force, and secondly, in the event of a possible American attack, what will the Iranian navy's reaction be?

Adm Alavi: The number of American vessels in the Arabian Sea varies from 15 to 26. These ships are of various kinds--aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers, patrol vessels, tankers and supply ships--and they are equipped with modern communications, electronic and intelligence equipment and weapons. These ships are in the process of maneuvering and circulating about 300 miles from the Strait of Hormoz; sometimes three of them go back and forth to ports on the other side of the Persian Gulf.

Regarding the second part of the question, I must point out that all in all, in my opinion, if American politicians do not fall prey to intellectual errors and deviation, and are aware of the deleterious consequences of all kinds of their probable acts of aggression in the long term, they will not commit such errors, but, in any event, regarding what the Iranian navy would do in case of an American attack, I must point out that any kind of reaction by the Iranian navy will arise from the overall thinking and culture of the Iranian psyche. Throughout history, the Iranian nation has many times been the object of aggression by powerful enemies and each



time it has defended its national honor, status, existence and independence in a heroic manner till victory. When the enemy temporarily attained military victory, the Iranian national never abandoned itself to final surrender or political and psychological collapse, and the enemy finally was routed by sustaining copious losses which brought on his ultimate defeat. Throughout history, great nations and small ones have appeared and vanished but today we see that the Iranian nation, with a past of thousands of years of convoluted events and vicissitudes of history, is still continuing its existence, living in freedom and independence. What is the secret of this survival? One must seek the secret of survival in the national culture and in the unity and solidarity of the members and individuals of the nation in the face of enemies. The superpowers of the East and the West must realize that when the basis of national honor and pride is involved, differences of creed, class, nationality and religion are put to the side and all the individuals and members of the Iranian nation, of every group, tribe, class, creed and belief, will, by preserving national unity, union, and total agreement in solidarity, repeat the lessons which they have given their enemies throughout history. Nothing would be better than for the enemies to draw counsel and lessons from previous lessons of history and not to embark on such mistakes.

We asked: In your opinion, what must the nature of Iran's naval power be, from the standpoint of quality and quantity? Does the navy enjoy sufficient power at the present time to defeat possible enemies? The commander of the navy replied,

"In order for us to realize what defensive forces we must have, we must at the outset determine national strategy and national goals in terms of the country's economic structure and domestic resources and the needs of society, and devote attention to our military objectives within the framework of national strategy. Then we must see what resources our possible powerful enemies enjoy and, in parrying their threats, must determine the composition and extent of our defensive forces. Therefore, in the light of these threats, composing and reducing or enlarging defense forces without attention to a national strategy and national goals and identifying powerful enemies is a pure mistake. Naturally, in order to preserve the independence and territorial integrity of our country, no price, no matter how high it may indeed be, is excessive. However, we must take note of the fact that it is not only the military forces which play a part in preserving the existence and independence of the country. National culture, agriculture, industry, technology and all matters of national resources and social affairs each have a substantial part in their turn and basically, in the event the defense forces are not supported by all national resources and capabilities, they will not be successful in performing their serious duties.

"In general, in light of the area, the operations and duties of the navy, which can act in various dimensions, are naturally essential and in my opinion, before giving attention to quantity in the navy, its quality must

be the object of concern. At this point it is necessary to mention a basic, important point, which is that a military and war-oriented navy will be faced with various problems in performing its duties if other agencies of naval power do not exist such as shipbuilding technology and industry, ship repair yards, port facilities, marine vessels, tankers, fishing vessels and marine laboratories. Our navy at present is dependent and reliant on foreign countries to provide for its most minor needs and in the event the foreign countries will not provide our requirements, we will not be able to perform our grave duties in the desired fashion in time of need. It is essential that the government exert basic, comprehensive measures to create and consolidate the other organs of naval power through proper planning. Regarding that part of your question which bears on the possibility or impossibility of performing naval duties and responsibilities, I must point out that comprehensive efforts have been made to restore the navy's preparedness to perform relevant duties, and the personnel of the navy, which possess a powerful belief in sacred national and patriotic values, preservation of the independence, territorial integrity and defense of Iran's national interests, possess the requisite preparedness in the waters of the Persian Gulf and the Sea of Oman to perform the relevant duties."

/Question/ What is your view on the imposition of an economic blockade and closure of the Strait of Hormoz by America? In the event America takes the initiative of closing the Strait of Hormoz, what will the Iranian navy's reaction be?

/Answer/ At present America has taken recourse to irregular means to impose an economic blockade, has taken measures and has enlisted countries on its side to this end. Some of these countries have also in practice, without any display and without revealing their intentions, provided limitations. However, I must point out that America must note that the more it resists and the more intensive action it exerts in the face of the legitimate demands of the Iranian nation, the more determined Iran will be in defending its legitimate rights. America must realize that Iran will never surrender to this type of measure and imposition of force. What role the imposition of an economic blockade could have on the freeing of hostages will never be clear to any sound mind, but if that is for other special political objectives, that is a different matter.

As regards closure of the Strait of Hormoz and the imposition of a naval blockade, I must point out that the Iranian navy and nation will rise up with determination in the face of any form of aggression on anyone's part and we will not remain idle in the face of measures of this sort, which will be an aggression against the legitimate rights of the Iranian nation. In my opinion if those running the political system of the American government are truly attentive to the consequences which will arise from measures of this kind and do not deviate from sound thinking and sound minds, they will never embark upon such measures.

/Question/ Let us come back inside the borders and the navy: Has a purge taken place in the navy or not? What measures has the navy taken in this regard?

/Answer/ The implementation of a purge in the navy must be carried out with great care and caution, in accordance with justifiable basic reasons. In the air force you can succeed in about 5 or 7 years in training a good, experienced pilot. Likewise, you need about 5 years to train an experienced ground forces officer in a specific field. However, to train an experienced captain who can take command of a destroyer you need at least 20 years' time. For naval personnel we need to invest capital continuously, and provide them with various forms of instruction. The diversity of various equipment on ship and the diversity of responsibilities which exist for the operations officer of a ship and the commander of a ship require that the ship possess necessary specializations in each field. For this reason the training given to a naval officer is greater and weightier and requires a much longer time. Maturity and experience in a commander who sets out to sea for a long period of time possesses special, exceptional importance, if he is to be able to perform the serious responsibilities he has. Therefore, if we think once about retiring an officer in the ground or air forces, we will have to think and act five times more cautiously in retiring a naval officer, especially since the nature of the organization and composition of the personnel of ground, air and naval forces are totally different from one another. In the ground forces, the number of personnel and the quantity of the personnel plays a basic role in the composition of the organization, whereas in the navy the role of quality is much more important than that of quantity. For example, about three officers are on duty in one cruiser, whose heavy firepower and complicated electronic equipment is many times greater than that of a military regiment of ground forces, while the number of officers in a ground regiment is more than 100.

In the first period of the triumph of the revolution, because of the climate which arose, all the commanders and a large number of experienced senior officers were retired from service and a large number did not show a desire or inclination to continue their service. Thus we note that our slightest negligence and error in maintaining our specialized personnel and making use of these great national resources could cause the navy to face a catastrophe that many long years will not be able to rectify. Therefore, in venturing to purge the navy, in particular, we must exercise the utmost care, determination and caution lest in the name of liquidation we inflict lethal blows on the body of this young, newly emerging organization with our own hand and ourselves witness the collapse of this valuable force whose overthrow and destruction has always been the object of special concern of imperialism throughout history.

We asked: What in your view must be done with respect to making the military, in particular the navy, self-sufficient? The commander of the navy replied,

"The issue of the self-sufficiency of the military is one measure which must head the list of government measures. An army which is dependent on foreigners for its most minor needs will not be reliable and dependable. For this reason, we are now faced with shortages and problems. Of course, complete self-sufficiency is not possible even for countries which have become developed from the technological standpoint. However, non-dependence as far as vital, extremely essential primary materials are concerned is attainable. In any event, in general, in order to make the military self-sufficient it is necessary that measures be taken in advance to create the necessary technology and primary necessity parent industries for defense materials, and to this end it is necessary that a start be made with the most basic materials at first.

"As far as making the navy relatively self-sufficient goes, it is necessary that shipbuilding industries be expanded and consolidated. The necessary technology in the field of electronic equipment and simple arms must be put to use. The construction of repair yards adequate for expanding and strengthening merchant vessels and tankers to support the military fleet possesses special importance. Essentially, a military navy is just one element of naval power. Naval power takes its form from various elements, such as the shipbuilding industry, ship repair yards, merchant vessels, tankers, fishing vessels, specialized manpower, port facilities, marine laboratories, and, finally, a fighting navy. Therefore, having an independent fighting navy which is not dependent on others will be possible when it has the support of the other elements of naval power.

"In order to create naval power, the government must concentrate all relevant efforts in all areas under the supervision of a central organization and take extensive, comprehensive steps in accordance with a proper, well-calculated program. Creating the abovementioned resources itself will require the creation of such other necessary features as water, electricity, health services, schools, and other social and welfare services.

"So far, in the navy, because there is a lack of educational resources, we have been sending our students to foreign countries to follow preliminary academic /studies/. However, measures have been taken to establish a naval academy and we have carried out very preliminary measures to determine the other inadequacies in the field of naval power. The government, in view of the importance of the matter, must carry out basic, all-inclusive procedures with proper comprehensive planning and greater attention must be given to the list of recommendations from the naval seminar held in the Naval Staff this October."

/Question/ We thank you.

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CSO: 4906



## EXPERTS STUDY WAYS TO FOIL U.S. BOYCOTT

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 13 Jan 80 p 8

[Text] Following the initiation of the Security Council meeting to study economic sanctions against Iran by the United States, we are hereby publishing the views of several economic experts and authorities on this issue to see what the results of such a blockade would be if the United States decides to go ahead with it.

On food products, Reza Sadr, minister of commerce said: With what we have now and what we have purchased, as well as what is currently being produced domestically, there is no reason to worry. Reza Esfahani, deputy minister of agriculture and rural development said: Today the people have realized that economy is a means and not a target. Sirus Ebrahimzadeh, deputy minister of finance and economic affairs said: Agricultural and industrial training will make America face great failure. Morteza Movahedizadeh, managing director of government Trade Company said: With a U.S. blockade of Persian Gulf, the world economy will suffer more loss than Iran's economy. Hushang Azar Mahd, deputy director of the Central Bank said: With a U.S. economic blockade, the multi-national companies can supply our demands. Considering the possible decisions of United Nations Security Council on Iran and its consequences, PARS NEWS AGENCY has interviewed several economic authorities.

In response to the question "What will happen if there is an economic blockade?", Reza Sadr, minister of commerce responded: There will be a war, if the U.S. fleet blocks the mouth of the Persian Gulf, because this is a two way issue. Since the world's oil goes from this area and the Western bloc countries will suffer a great economic loss as a result of such an action. Therefore, it is unlikely that there would be a blockade of the Hormoz Strait. About not selling grain such as wheat, rice and other necessities, the United States has to this moment been in a disappointing state. On one hand the multi-national companies are using all sorts of ways to sell us the goods. Even some of these companies under the title of "attaches" and other various titles have provided goods that are especially produced for Iran and are exporting to us. Recently,

the ambassador of Austria and some other countries contacted me and said that Iran can buy its requirements from those countries. The Austrian ambassador even said that on behalf of his country he announces that they are by no means ready to participate in the economic blockade. Some other countries have given similar proposals to us.

The minister of commerce added: I anticipate that the success of the United States and its satellites equals zero in this respect. I should say that from the time that this country announced to its blue collar workers in the ports not to load the ships for Iran, the number of proposals received from other countries, especially the Latin America countries, has increased. We have really been successful in getting such proposals and the United States has been unsuccessful. Reza Sadr said: With what we have purchased together with what we have and what is produced, we can meet with the shortages and the people should know that there is nothing to worry about.

On the issue of an economic blockade, Reza Esfahani, deputy minister of agriculture and rural development first referred to the special characteristics of the nation and said: Our people made revolution under decisive leadership and overthrew the big satan. An economic blockade would bring harsh blows to a nation without a revolutionary spirit. However, our nation which used its own chest as a shield against machine gun bullets with self-sacrifice can go on fasting and slap America's mouth, this world devouring imperialism. Our people have realized that economy is a means and not a target. Therefore, regarding man's daily bread, it is more important for our people to maintain their spiritual personality rather than surrender to such threats. Sirus Ebrahizadeh, one of the authorities on economic affairs and the deputy minister of finance and economic affairs said: Fortunately, the Iranian people have realized that self-sufficiency in food is a vital matter. Today the countries have realized that food is like a war weapon. That is why one has to be self-sufficient in order to live. After the revolution our farmers have thought of complete self-sufficiency in agricultural products. Fortunately, the farmers have reached remarkable results within the past 11 months. The hollow threats of the United States have resulted in producing two harvests and cultivations in provinces where the soil is suitable. Of course together with the farmers programs, the government should help the farmers through agricultural banks either from financial or equipment point of view. Morteza Movahedizadeh, the managing director of government trade company said: This matter should be studied and discussed from several dimensions. I believe that contrary to its inward will, the United States has ordered the port workers not to load the ships for Iran. This will result in taking the market out of the hands of the United States and for other countries to replace it. The United States has realized this matter. Of course, there have been some problems from the view-point of credit and bank affairs in the United States and her satellite countries. But, fortunately, with the help of Iranian lawyers, the matter has almost been resolved in Europe and we have been able to pay for our purchases on time. About a U.S. blockade of the Persian Gulf I should say that it will be the world economy which will suffer, not us.

Movahedizadeh said: If no food products get to Iran, within eight months we will be able to provide our own food and within these eight months, there will be the cultivation and harvest seasons and therefore we will not face any shortages or blockade. I should say that the grain siloes are full at present and that there is nothing to worry about. With a prompt planning in agriculture, we will be able to overcome the problems regarding future shortages. About a U.S. blockade Hushang Azarmahd, deputy director of Iran's Central Bank and one of Iran's economic experts said: If the United States is Iran's enemy, then other countries such as Lybia, Algeria, Austria, France, Romania and other countries will be considered our friends. We will be able to provide for our shortages from these countries. The possibility of a U.S. economic blockade is very weak because this matter will create a lot of problems for the West. The West does not have oil reserves for more than 90 days. Considering that the cold season has started, if the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormoz are announced as war zones, the ships will not be able to sail in that area and the West will be paralyzed.

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CS0: 4906

BAZARGAN TAKES ISSUE WITH CONSTITUTION, MILITANT SHIA'SM

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 24-30 Dec 79 pp 26-28

[Interview with Mehdi Bazargan, Former Iranian Prime Minister, by 'Isam Muhammad, date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Mehdi Bazargan, the veteran politician and first prime minister of the revolutionary government of Iran, continues to play an important role in Iranian politics. He is a member of the Supreme Council of the Revolution, and all indications suggest that his role is not over as some had believed. He has withdrawn somewhat from the spotlight to give others, as he says, the opportunity to do what they accuse him of failing to accomplish. Or, perhaps, he may want to gather his strength for the next phase.

Bazargan has refrained from holding any press conferences since his resignation, and he has only appeared on the television screen on two occasions: once to deliver his farewell address to explain "some" of the reasons for his resignation, and a second time when he spoke to the population of Azerbaijan in an attempt to placate them and pave the way for a solution to the crisis in that region.

Bazargan is still working in his office in the huge prime ministry building, a fact not without significance. Dr Beheshti, the first secretary of the Supreme Council of the Revolution, who is temporarily carrying out the duties of prime minister, conducts his affairs from the Ministry of Justice.

[Question] Wasn't your resignation a result of the Algeria meetings?

[Answer] No, not at all. Prior to my trip to Algeria, we raised the matter of my resignation after we had discussed it in the Council of Ministers.



[Question] When you say "we," do you mean the Freedom Movement of Iran which you led and which had the major role in the cabinet?

[Answer] Yes, and also the group of ministers who cooperated with us.

[Question] You suspended the activities of the Freedom Movement of Iran to some extent when you became prime minister, and you did not try to turn it into a mass movement. The reasons for that are unclear. Meanwhile, all the other factions and personalities proceeded to organize and expand their forces. Could you tell us why?

[Answer] Before I became prime minister, Khomeyni put me in charge of managing the affairs of the oil company employees, and their going on strike. Then we discussed the establishment of the provisional government while he was still in Paris. When he charged me with forming the government and selecting the ministers, he stipulated that I do not bring in partisan ministers. But Taleqani objected, and told Khomeyni: "How can this be when they are partisans themselves, and the people know them as such?" We finally agreed that we would push the activities of the Freedom Movement into the background, and be content with carrying out our duties within the organisms of the revolution and the government. We abided by this all along. We did not publish a newspaper, admit new members, or compete with the new forces.

#### Criticism of the Constitution

[Question] Will you continue doing this?

[Answer] No. The Freedom Movement will be active, and we are now studying a plan to publish a newspaper. We have abandoned one position and course of action, and fallen back to another position and course of action.

[Question] Let's talk about the constitution. What are your objections to it?

[Answer] This is not the proper time to raise objections, and under-scoring a position will not help a thing. The assembly has completed its work and the referendum has been held. The constitution was not voted on article by article in the referendum. It had to be either accepted or rejected. So we accepted it in spite of our observations. In any case, the approval of the constitution will help lead the country toward a state of stability, whereupon the elected National Consultative Council can reconsider the articles of the constitution.

[Question] But articles of the constitution such as the "sovereign power of the theologian" cannot be changed.

[Answer] True, there are things that the council does not have the power to change, but it can ultimately submit its new version to a public

referendum once again. There is a time and circumstance for everything. Furthermore, there are growing feelings that some amendments must be made in the constitution, or that some of its gaps must be filled. Iman Khomeyni himself has said that the constitution might need a supplement.

[Question] How do you view the situation in Iran today?

[Answer] Let us confine ourselves to broad issues. I do not wish to talk about current and day-to-day matters. The late Taleqani used to tell us: "while at the mosque, let us limit our discussion to principles and concepts. As to current political matters, we'll discuss them at party meetings, outside the mosque." I want to act now as if I were at the mosque.

From Mosaddeq To Khomeyni

[Question] Let us return then to general matters and concepts. I will ask you a fundamental question: You (and the Freedom Movement of Iran) played a major role in the Iranian national movement. You linked together two phases, serving as a bridge between Mosaddeq and Khomeyni. That is to say, you transmitted Mosaddeq's concepts of nationalism and democracy infused with the spirit of Islam. Do you believe that Iran is still in need of that bridge, or has that phase become past history?

[Answer] We established the Freedom Movement of Iran to be exactly such a bridge. We are neither rightists nor leftists, neither narrow-minded religious fanatics nor non-believers. We were not conservatives, but neither did we reject everything old. We did not become passive servants of the government, but neither did we keep to ourselves and refuse to work within the governmental system. I believe that Iran needs that bridge, that moderate line, at this time as well as in the past.

There is in Iran today a kind of extremism, ranging from excessive zeal to indifference. At present, there are some in our country who think of that revolution means killing, slaughter and destruction, without concern for reconstruction and development. Then there are those who resist the revolution on grounds of maintaining the old society. As for myself, I try not to lose the moderate line in this matter.

[Question] Some people accuse you of not wanting to continue the revolution when you were prime minister. You were content with exile of the shah and keeping the same regime without any radical changes. Is that right?

[Answer] No. We always wanted the revolution and we still do; however, revolution in the sense of both destroying and rebuilding, with the emphasis on rebuilding. The revolution is a long process of rebuilding society and moral and material life. As for my opinion about the government departments, the vast majority of the civil servants were not responsible for what happened in the past. Moreover, they also took part in

the revolution, struck for a long time and supported us. Therefore, I did not go along with some people about pursuing what they conceive of as "radical" changes.

#### Two Positions on the West

[Question] Since the time of the Kajars, Iran has been pulled by two different views regarding the west: one favoring dependence and the other rejecting everything Western. In your eulogy of Taleqani, you said you were in agreement with him that Iran should accept science and technology from the West, but reject subservience to it. Do you believe this to be a consistent position? Do science and technology entail continued subservience, as some groups here in Iran believe?

[Answer] What hindered progress during the reign of the shah was not just dependence, but also foolish and blind imitation. Not just the shah, but even groups of liberal and enlightened militants during the early part of this century believed in the "Europeanization" of Iran. The late Taqizadeh said: "Iran is doomed to stay behind unless it becomes Europeanized from head to toe." Then came Reza Shah, and one of his psychological problems was that he had not seen the West for a single day. He was enchanted by the stories that were going around about the West, and he was drawn by its magic. He also wanted to westernize Iran by changing its complexion. He prescribed hats and prohibited the veil, as Ataturk had previously done in Turkey. As for Reza Shah's son, Mohammad Reza Shah, he applied this policy consciously, and organized an integrated relationship with the West based on dependence. He saw the way to insure his survival was to link Iran with the Western nations, and to serve as an agent for their interests.

Consequently, there was a generation before us which was dazzled with Europe and tried to imitate it. We belong to a generation which renounced enchantment with the West. We evaluated both positive and negative views of the West. Accordingly, we rejected both dependence on and blind imitation of the west.

However, there is now a fanatical and unstudied position which views everything that comes from the West as a cause of backwardness and tragedy. This is the other side of the position which saw everything Western as a magic cure for our ills.

If we reject everything we have taken from the West, we will fall backwards hundreds of years. We will not be able to attain real progress, or compete with and stand up to the West, unless we use weapons which might be taken from the West itself. The West itself has also drawn from our civilization. Likewise, in the Battle of Al-Khandaq, the Prophet did not hesitate to learn through Salman al-Farsi, an Iranian battle technique of which the Moslems had been ignorant.

There is a universal human component in the civilization now termed "Western" which is the legacy of all civilizations and all mankind. I believe we should benefit not only from science and technology, but even from the arts and culture, provided they do not conflict with our noble origin and independent development. We are pursuing our own development which will make us truly strong in the face of attempts to subdue us and keep us in the gloom of backwardness and dependence. Do not forget that dependence relies on backwardness, just as backwardness is a historical offshoot of dependence. Such a view is necessary in Iran today if we are to build an advanced and independent economy and a thriving material and spiritual life.

[Question] Is the position which you criticize in Iran's relationship with the West an offshoot of what is usually termed Shi'ite fanaticism, since Iran, more so than other countries, has experienced movements of opposition to the West and Westernization during the past and present centuries? Thus, Dr Ali Shariati regarded Shia'ism as a revolutionary party which rejects Westernization.

[Answer] No, I do not believe that this is the reason. In any case, Shariati on most occasions talked about the Shia in terms of a rejectionist, or a fighting, or an opposition minority. The precept of "revolution" is new in our political literature.

#### Shariati Bypassed the Clergy

[Question] Dr Shariati is described as the teacher of the Iranian revolution. How do you assess him?

[Answer] Shariati was a founder of a branch of the Freedom Movement of Iran abroad when he lived in France. But this does not mean that we agree with all his theories. He put forward certain concepts of the creed, the history of Shia'ism and other matters. It can be said, however, that he deserves the credit for shaping an entire generation of young people, who were alert against colonialism and exploitation, on the one hand, and against religious stultification on the other. He was the first to introduce the terms debilitation and oppression into our political literature, in an effort to present Islam in such a way that its application would mean the building of a unified classless society. He presented Islam not just in a new form but in a new spirit, and thus bypassed the clergy.

[Question] Was this because a large segment of the clergy resented him, and even went so far as to accuse him of apostasy?

[Answer] Yes. He bypassed them, and broke their monopoly on theology. Moreover, he tried to evoke willpower, self-confidence and feelings of responsibility in the people, and he tried to free the people from intermediaries in their relationship with God. These things dealt a blow to the interests and positions of some members of the clergy. Ali Shariati



was a devoted son of these agitated times of liberation movements, revolutions, and social upheavals. He was influenced by Franz Fanon, Algeria and the revolutions of the world. Actually, without the efforts of Ali Shariati, the revolution would not have broken out when it did, or perhaps it would have taken another course.

#### There Is No Creator of the Revolution

[Question] Do you believe Shariati to be the creator of the revolution?

[Answer] There is no creator of the revolution. He was one of its prominent teachers and pioneers. His role affected the timing of the revolution, and perhaps also its course. But he did not create it, nor did anyone else create it. History unfolds and all are engulfed in its forward march. One person takes a step forward and a second follows him. A third person may try to impede progress, but the revolution moves along, impelled by various factors and influences. For this reason, it is difficult to focus on the role of a specific person as if he had extraordinary power. This is true of scientific inventions, just as it is true social change.

Furthermore, ideas do not create a revolution. A revolution is created by the need for progress on the part of society itself. When the people need a revolution, they seek the ideas to guide and provide them with weapons in the struggle. The Iranian people's need for the revolution against the regime of the shah, and their adherence to the ideas of Ali Shariati, were part of this phenomenon.

[Question] The Iranian revolution is one of the great popular revolutions in history, and was distinguished by its originality and independence. In order to maintain this independence and guarantee the revolution's progress, the revolution requires the unity of the people, unity with the Third World and, to a certain extent, an alliance with Western Europe, so that it can continue to stand up against the two superpowers. Did you put such a policy into effect?

[Answer] Exactly. We tried to strengthen the unity of our country, join with the world's nonaligned bloc, and gain the neutrality or the support of as many nations as possible. With regard to strengthening the unity of the people, we tried through the draft constitution we proposed to assert just the Islamic nature of the regime, not the Shi'ite denomination as an official denomination.

#### Who Prepared the Constitution?

[Question] Who prepared the draft of the constitution?

[Answer] We and the provisional government. Changes were made before the draft reached the Assembly of Experts. Many additional modifications were then made by the assembly. In the original draft, we did not want to say that the Shi'ite denomination was the official denomination, nor did we want to stipulate that the president must be a Shi'ite. However, the clergy applied pressure in the Assembly of Experts, and major changes were made in the draft. If our counsel had been heeded, we would have laid the foundation for stronger unity among the religious, denominational and national minorities.

With regard to foreign policy, we stuck to a course of nonalignment. Our country went through centuries of suffering caused by the contest between the colonialist powers over it. For this reason, belief in neutrality and independence is deep-rooted in our country. I believe that our policy vis-a-vis the big powers must be a self-confirming policy.

[Question] Passive balancing?

[Answer] Yes, exactly. And of course, application of that policy according to present developments in the international situation.

#### Arab Policy

[Question] What have you done to achieve better cooperation with the Arab states?

[Answer] We have made every effort within our power to approach everyone. I say everyone, even those who have stirred up internal forces against us. In fact, we were even trying to improve our relations with Saudi Arabia, since we were preparing for the arrival of the Saudi foreign minister who was to be followed by Prince Fahd, with the provision that I was to visit Saudi Arabia subsequently. We were aware of the true nature of some of the Arab states, but the situation facing us was that we were confronting colonialism, and fighting savage battles. Therefore, we needed to minimize secondary battles.

[Question] What did you do to support the liberation movements? Some people charge that you sought to retreat into the Iranian framework, and did not lend a helping hand to the liberation movements.

[Answer] We did everything possible. In any case we were at the beginning of the road. Take our position on the Palestinian revolution, and other movements. I assure you that the mad colonialist campaign against us is attributable in part to our position on the Palestinian revolution and other movements. We tried to strike a balance between promoting our relations with Third World nations on the one hand, and study of and calm support for liberation movements. And I repeat that we were just starting out on our course.

Those who accuse us of strict adherence to "Iranian" interests must recall our position on Israel, South Africa, and even Egypt. Iran had large interests and investments in all of these countries, and we gave them up for the sake of principles.

[Question] Were you a member of the Revolution Command Council from the beginning, or did you join it after the last reshuffle?

[Answer] I was a member from the beginning, but membership of the council changed several times, since some of its members died or were dismissed. In any case, the council will only operate a few more months, since general elections for the National Consultative Council and the presidency will be held.

[Question] Did the council exist before the victory of the revolution, and if so, how did you organize the command of the revolution at that time?

[Answer] The council did not exist then, but was formed after Imam Khomeyni's return from Paris. Prior to that, there was no joint command within the country, but rather diverse commands and individuals all of whom were in contact with the leader of the revolution, Imam Khomeyni. I tried to call a meeting which would have brought together the leaders of the National Front, the clergy, and other individuals (including some senior officers, such as the late Qarani) for the purpose of forming a command council, or at least a coordinating committee. However, most factions did not cooperate. The imam himself preferred to proceed slowly, but he later asked me to suggest some individuals to be members of the Revolution Command Council and the cabinet. It must be said, however, that when Taleqani got out of prison, he assumed a special position in the movement, and came to play the biggest role among the leaders within the country.

8591

CSO: 4902

MOJAHEDIN INTERVIEWED ON ROLE OF PRESIDENCY

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 27 Jan 80 p 11

[Interview with members of the Organization of Holy Warriors [Mojahedin] of the Islamic Revolution: "Guardianship of the Religious Jurist Overshadowed the President"]

[Excerpt] A few days ago, our correspondent had a conversation with the Organization of the Holy Warriors of the Islamic Revolution concerning the office of the president and some other subjects. Unfortunately, for various reasons, there was a delay in printing it. Meanwhile, in view of the fact that this organization's view on the candidate for the presidency was published separately a short time ago, we will not concern ourselves with that; you may observe the rest of the conversation as follows.

Question: In view of the fact that the president is not a cleric, what are the areas of conflict between the guardianship of the religious jurist and the office of the presidency?

Answer: If what is meant is that the election of a non-clerical president conflicts with the principle of the guardianship of the religious jurist, that is incorrect, because it is not even obligatory that the jurist himself be a cleric, to say nothing of the president, while the president must believe in the principles of the constitution, including Principles 5 and 110, which concern the guardianship of the religious jurist. If what is meant by conflict is the result of the manner of the conclusions of a cleric (the leader), and a non-cleric (the president), it is clear that both are elected by the people and each is following the same path in accepting the principle of the guardianship of the jurist. Otherwise each would be committing a blatant error and will be removed from his responsibility by the people. This procedure will remain in force if the president is also a cleric, or even if the religious jurist is a non-cleric. Without a doubt, natural and partial differences will not produce a problem in the form of a "conflict."



### Three Interpretations of Islamic Ownership

Question: Do you consider the scheme of ownership in the constitution to be Islamic or based on considerations of personal interest?

Answer: With regard to ownership, there are, among Moslems, three ranges of varying interpretations, and each one considers itself to be genuine and Islamic. Of course we say "range" because each of them, although situated in one group, embraces a few differences. These three ranges are as follows:

A. In the thinking and interpretation of one group, Islam believes in unlimited and unrestricted ownership and holds that to be sacred. This group believes that ownership is in no way limited and that one can own up to any amount /of goods/. This viewpoint, in reality, propounds reconciliation and cooperation between Islam and capitalism in a way and its arguments face numerous problems of an Islamic nature.

B. The doctrine of total renunciation of private ownership, in which people believe that Islam is not in agreement with ownership of means of production in any form, and, under the rubric of making ownership unconditionally God's, attain a kind of communal ownership. This in reality is Marxist economics in Islamic terminology. These people have first studied and accepted Marxist economics and then arisen within Islam in the course of obtaining their support; therefore most of the true prophetic traditions and Koranic verses on which they support themselves do not conform to the interpretations either.

C. Acceptance of the principle of private ownership as a proper, useful innate instinctive phenomenon for perfecting man and using it as "ownership for sustenance": in this view, ownership is "legitimate and limited," subject to numerous restrictions and rules, in accordance with the imam's statement, and in any case is not sacred. The guardian and religious jurist, can, on behalf of the interests of Islamic society, limit ownership, legitimate though it is, and even control it. However, the total renunciation of ownership has also been considered detrimental and is not instinctual from the personal point of view. It estranges people from themselves; from the social standpoint it also leads to state capitalism and the creation of a "new class."

We believe in the third doctrine. Of course, some people consider acceptance of the principle of ownership to be in contradiction with the renunciation of unbounded ownership, but that is not the case; guild and agricultural cooperatives whose shareholders participate with one another in the organization's management, capital, activity and profit can also manage great productive units at the same time they prevent expansion of the dimensions of ownership. The growth of individual capital is prevented in such a system while at the same time the instinct to produce more remains for all members of the nation.

In our belief, the scheme of ownership in the constitution is close to the above doctrine. The problems that exist are the failure to qualify the term "limited" alongside "legitimate"; we have raised it in recommendations as well as in a number statement and we hope that that will be rectified in the supplement.

#### The President and Social Processes

Question: If a progressive or a reactionary process governs the country, can the president rise above it?

Answer: First "progressive" and "reactionary" process must be defined.

In our opinion, the closest process to genuine, sincere Islam and the platform of Imam Khomeyni in all its dimensions (not just the anti-imperialistic aspect of the emam) is the "right" one (which we use in place of "progressive" and so forth). Any process opposed to that is "void" (reactionary). This statement is made because some of us approach these terms via the criteria of other creeds and, asserting Islam with the rules of others, use the words "reactionary," "progressive," or "more reactionary" and "more progressive."

All right--this analysis does not contain any restrictions in creeds which are not divine and wherein the more Moslem the person is the more "reactionary" he remains while the farther he is from Islam--and consequently the closer to those creeds--the more "progressive" he is, just as Moslems consider those creeds "void" and reactionary. However, it is a source of amazement that some Moslems approach the evaluation of individuals and forces via these criteria; this in itself illustrates the closeness of their criteria to non-Islamic rules and shows the "reception." In any case, if what you mean in the question by a "progressive" or "reactionary" process dominating the country in the form of the guardianship of the religious jurist, this is without a doubt an erroneous conception of the guardian and jurist, because the jurist must be a just, pious, brave ideologue and so forth, and, besides that, free election by the majority is also a condition and if he deviates the jurist will automatically become isolated. On the other hand, the guardian and jurist does not have an executive position; his job is to oversee executive and national powers. The jurist also is a means of control; when he sees a deviation, he stands up to it in a legal fashion or by disclosure and mobilization of the people. Therefore the president cannot and must not overshadow him but rather is himself overshadowed by the guardian and religious jurist and must believe in him in his heart and in his actions. Of course he can present his views within the limits of his information and viewpoints to the leader and can also act through his legal powers, and this in itself has an effect on society, but it is not a determinant. This in itself prevents all retrogression and deviation. Besides all this, it would be odd if the people

elected a "progressive" jurist and a "reactionary" president. Rather, their conditions and the election of both by the nation will result in their proceeding along the same course so that no contradiction will be created between them. Of course, in the case of deviation, a proper reaction will take place.

11887

CSO: 4906

## MINISTRY ARRANGES TO HOLD MAJLES ELECTIONS IN MARCH

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 13 Jan 80 p 9

[Excerpts] Yesterday afternoon in a press interview regarding the presidential elections Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, head of the ministry of interior stated: The Ministry of Interior has been mobilized for the elections and with an anticipation for a two phase election, instead of 20 million, 40 million cards and necessary papers have been printed. Ninety six volunteers for the position of president have been deprived of campaign time for the elections on radio and television. If we want to publish the names of those who were in contact with SAVAK, we should publish a daily newspaper everyday. He added: It is not within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior to reveal the conditions, biography and qualifications of the candidates. The elections are held according to the constitutional law and the election bill which was prepared and approved by the Revolutionary Council. Based on anticipations made regarding freedom of elections, at first it was agreed that 100 persons consisting of university teachers, committed and struggling clergy, judges and lawyers of the Justice Department would study, confirm and sign the competency of the candidates himself and such an authorization has been given to him legally, considering the lack of time, the issue of verifying the competency of these 100 candidates has been given up and the Imam has turned over this authority to the nation. In general the system was changed. However, the Ministry of Interior made studies in the first phase regarding the mental health of the candidates, to see if they are not members of SAVAK and that they are Iranians and qualified. Even it made sure that they do not belong to the Rastakhiz Party. However, legally the Ministry of Interior does not have the right to expel. It was the Ministry of National Guidance that revealed things, which we read in the paper.

The head of the Ministry of Interior then referred to the issue of campaigning and said: Radio and television time is very valuable and, in general, all of the candidates should not have been permitted to campaign because most of them are not qualified to become presidents. Their own families would not have voted for them.



## Mobilization of the Ministry of Interior

Rafsanjani then referred to the mobilization of the Ministry of Interior for the elections and added: Instead of 20 million election cards and papers, we have printed 40 million cards, so that we would be ready if the elections are to be held in two phases. Now, whether the revelations would affect the elections or not, I should say that the elections are continued in its usual trend and the people will vote for whoever is competent and they find it so.

In response to the question "Can those who actually do not qualify to use radio and television campaign for themselves in the society freely," he said: From the view-point of the Ministry of Interior, there is no objection. Of course 96 persons do not have the right to radio and television use. In response to the question why the people were not informed about the biography of such people, Hashemi Rafsanjani answered: If they were practically members of SAVAK, they actually did not have the permission to become candidates. However, those people were in touch with SAVAK and if we want to reveal the names of those in contact with SAVAK, we should publish a daily paper for printing their names every day.

9156

CSO: 4906

## MORE COOPERATIVES WANTED TO EXPAND AGRICULTURE

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 13 Jan 80 p 8

[Text] The traditional agricultural system of Iran has shown that in the past our country was always advanced in agricultural techniques used in those times. Studies made on subterranean canal networks, storage containers for the crops and many similar devices all verify that because a large portion of the country was unsuitable for agriculture the Iranian farmer always created methods, out of necessity and need. Farming was his sole source of income and he was able to harvest the maximum with minimum resources, for many years.

In areas where the climate was worse the farmer was able to farm with more dexterity and care. For instance, in Yazd Province, where there was a shortage of water, the subterranean canals were dug more professionally. The Yazdis had become such experts that farmers in other areas called upon their expertise. Prior to the implementation of colonialist policies through mercenaries, Iran was a self-sufficient country from the standpoint of agricultural products. In addition to meeting the domestic needs a large amount, especially grain, was exported abroad annually. With the irregular development of cities and the migration of villagers to the cities and creation of a consumer society, the self-sufficiency which existed in agricultural products was practically destroyed. It should be noted that due to unjust distribution some were even faced with difficulties in getting plain bread.

Of course we cannot say that Iran's agricultural system should continue operating according to the traditional and undeveloped manner. However, we should maintain the same traditional ways, as well as move toward gradual industrialization and not proceed the way which resulted in wiping out agriculture. After destroying Iran's traditional agricultural system, there was a vacuum in agricultural production. Considering the existing conditions, it was only possible to fill the vacuum by importing food products. This was precisely what imperialism wanted. The country practically became a market for Western industrial agricultural products and billions of dollars left the country in foreign exchange.

An important issue which should be taken into consideration is political correlation which consumer societies are faced with. Now that the West

talks about food sanctions we badly need a policy, based on recognizing the realities. By accomplishing constructive plans and giving technical and financial aid to the farmers, we can take effective measures in making the country self-sufficient. The irregular development of cities and establishment of centralized and consumer societies and the unfavorable conditions which persuade farmers to migrate to the cities will not remedy the farmers' pain. Destroying feudalism and accomplishing land reform in its true sense, as well as establishing agricultural cooperative companies can be a good beginning to fulfill Iran's independence. Of course the people of Iran, especially the farmers, have tasted the bitterness of agricultural corporations in the former regime. Taking the farmer's land, slavery, compulsory migration were done by those companies. We should be cautious not to repeat the bitter experiences of the past. The agricultural cooperative companies should have national characteristics and we should never allow foreign capitals to find their way into these companies. By establishing large farms and the application of advanced machinery, we can increase the land's economic output.

The major portion of the income should be allocated to the farmers and welfare and health facilities should be established next to the farms.

It is obvious that establishment of agricultural facilities in an area which will bring along more income and benefit the farmers will persuade farmers from other areas to move into areas with agricultural facilities in the hope of better income. In order to avoid this, the plan should be implemented on a wider scale in all agricultural areas throughout the country.

9156

CSO: 4906

IRAQ

BRIEFS

INCOME TAX ABOLISHED--Baghdad, Jan 7--Iraq's Revolutionary Command Council has decided to abolish income tax imposed on salaries, wages, allowances and rewards received by the state employees and officials engaged in the public sectors and the mixed public and private sector. It also decided to abolish the rates levied on houses and rented apartments. The taxes abolition decisions are retroactive as from the beginning of this year.-- IINA [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 8 Jan 80 p 4]

CSO: 4820



# AUTHORITIES, MEDIA FAULTED FOR ROLE, ATTITUDES IN DISTURBANCES

Casablanca LIBERATION in French 4-10 Jan 80 p 15

[Article: "Confrontations in the Tadla--Collusion of the Administration with the Feudal Powers"]

[Text] On Saturday 29 December, bloody events shook Beni-Mellal province. Usurpation of land--communal property--by local feudal powers, backed by the local authorities, was at the root of the confrontations between the populations and the forces of order, brought to the sites to impose a fait accompli. The many wounded--some of them seriously--and nearly 180 arrests are deplored.

Because of their seriousness, these events--recalling, in many respects, those of Ouled Khalifa in the Gharb nearly 10 years ago--have aroused unrest and disapproval at both the local and national levels.

The usurpation concerns crossover lands, 20,000 hectares in area, which for centuries have been the collective property of three rural communes: Wadi Said Loued, Sankat and Ktaya. These lands--bounded on the east by the commune of Zaouiet Sheikh, on the north by Khouribga province, on the west by the Beni-Amer, and on the south by these three communes that own them--were divided among these communes in the time of the protectorate by the Pasha of Beni-Mellal. They were farmed collectively for 2 years, with excellent yields, until the local feudal powers grabbed them again. After independence, the problem remained, inasmuch as the representative of the local feudal powers was also the governor of the province. Taking advantage of his position of authority, he imposed force on the populations of these three communes to make them work these crossover lands to the benefit of the livestock of a minority of big landowners of regions far-removed from the communes in question.

His fait accompli was backed by the local authority without reservation. For many years, the population demanded its right to use its land, but never obtained justice. Worse still, the usurpers continued to dig in by increasing their livestock on these lands, reducing to a minimum the pasturage available for the stock of the communes concerned.

At the beginning of the present agricultural season, the population insistently raised again the question of the evacuation of its lands. A meeting on the subject, chaired by the governor, was held at the beginning of last December. The authorities' objective was to convince the population of the justification for the presence of outside livestock in the abovementioned communes. But no agreement was reached. It was then that our local feudal power, nonetheless responsible to the central offices of the Ministry of Interior, went to the region, on 24 December 1979, to confer with the local authorities on the decisions to be taken. These decisions were not long in being carried out. Indeed, 48 hours after this visit, tens of thousands of head of livestock were led onto these lands, watched over by the auxiliary forces. The trial of strength was launched and the challenged hurled.

The line was sharply drawn, and the population consequently decided to react by opposing these incursions and defending its land. A protest demonstration was organized at the very places where the livestock passed. In the face of this mobilization and popular determination to root out this injustice, the authorities opted for force and attacked the demonstration. The kaid of the region set fire to the tractor of one of the fellahin. Many brawls took place, leaving several wounded on both sides. In view of the scope and seriousness of the incidents, reinforcements for the forces of order were sent in, both from the provinces and from elsewhere. Spontaneously, a second protest demonstration, by more than 3,000 persons, was launched as a result of the acts of repression, mass arrests and unconcealed torture carried out in the presence of the governor and his close collaborators.

A state of siege worthy of the deepest colonial times was imposed on the entire Hanzouza region, district of Kasba Tadla. A highly charged atmosphere prevails in the streets and the douars controlled by the forces of order and where any gathering of even two persons is dispersed.

In Beni-Mellal, security guard is kept over the grain, and close checks are made at all the rural common-carrier terminals. Anyone wearing "rustic garb" is irremediably sent back to his place of origin, without any explanation and without recourse.

The auxiliary forces occupied the lands in question by attacking the populations. On the order of the local authority, they carried out veritable raids, butchering the local livestock, taking food products from the groceries of the neighboring douars. The Khalifa of Ouled Said Loued commandeered a Peugeot 404 utility vehicle belonging to a citizen arrested in these events and uses it for his trips and for chasing down the population.

About 180 persons, including 15 communal councillors, were arrested and transferred in covered trucks to the Auxiliary Forces camp in Aourir, where they are kept under heavy guard.

They suffer from bitter cold because they lack blankets. Many cruelties have been inflicted on them, and their families have been absolutely forbidden to communicate with them or bring them any food or cover.

Two meetings were supposed to have been held between the local authorities and the population, on 31 December and 2 January. The first did not take place, and the second was held in the absence of the governor, and produced no results, in that no specific proposal by the representatives of the authorities was submitted to the representatives of the population. The inhabitants reject all negotiation until all the persons arrested are freed, until the forces of order have left the sector and cease their exactions, and finally, until the authorities recognize the right of the three communes to these crossover lands. Meanwhile, and in the face of practices worthy of the darkest times of the protectorate, the population has decided to form a delegation which is to go to Rabat and protest to the central authority.

Let us hope all the same that once in the capital, this delegation does not (once again) run into the party responsible for its evils. For it should not be forgotten that the representative of the feudal powers of the region in question is at the same time a high official in the central administration. Will he be allowed to be both judge and defendant? And confirm in his favor an injustice that has already shown the kind of risks it can engender?

Such events, whether they occur in Ouled Khalifa in the Gharb, in Temara in the Rabat region, or at Ouled Said in Beni-Mellal province, suggest many lessons on both the political and social level.

The first rough lesson that forces itself on one is that in this country, the practices of a different age are still in force, and that nothing in fact or deed--and still less in intentions--appears to be truly changing; and this contrary to what it is desired to have us believe in recent years. Other realities force themselves on us also--those which, for example, throw light on the continuance of the repressive nature of the administrative machinery, which, in the struggles carried on by the popular masses in the face of exploitation and iqtaa, does not hesitate to use its muscle in favor of the exploiters and the privileged. Such events also give the lie to any phoney so-called agrarian or political reform in this direction.

While Beni-Mellal leads us to this bitter observation, it nonetheless constitutes a "natural" extension of a line followed for many years and characterized by many "blots" elevated to the status of law. To speak only of the last 4 years, this line was first inaugurated--not to say perpetuated--by the sham of the 1976 and 1977 elections, which twisted the popular will. It then continued with many exactions and repressions, which in some cases resulted in death under torture--notably that of comrade Grina--or quite simply, arbitrary arrests and the simple firing of workers for exercise of a right recognized universally--which includes the laws that govern this country: the right to strike to defend one's vital needs.

Another aspect of these events is the way in which the official information media have dealt with them, and in this they are followed by other newspapers of the governmental coalition. They have tried to peg the problem at

the tribal level, and have suggested that if the forces of order have intervened, it has been solely in order to put an end to the "siba" that had been declared in the region as a result of tribal struggles.

The reality itself is of an eloquent simplicity. It pits tens of thousands of persons who have owned land collectively for centuries and who are determined to defend this land against individuals notorious for years for their feudalism and their collaboration with the protectorate. They are also known for their abuse of influence and authority and for the repression to which they subjected Moroccans in an independent Morocco.

Whether the agency MAGHREB ARABE PRESSE--which has tried to reconcile disparate elements--likes it or not, the problem remains posed in the terms that we have just reported: that is, a problem of spoliation and usurpation that is far from settled, as has been written. As for the other press organs, they are all, or nearly all, beginning, after falling into step with the official news agency, to adopt a demagogic and opportunistic attitude that does not conceal their true intentions.

11267

CSO: 4400



## EDITORIAL CRITICIZES INEFFECTIVENESS OF PARLIAMENT

Casablanca LIBERATION in French 4-10 Jan 80 p 2

[Editorial by Mohamed Azzayani: "'Majlis' or 'Madwaz'"]

[Text] To judge the reality of things, it is sometimes sufficient to refer back to the concrete meaning of their name. Thus it is with institutions, and with the chamber of deputies first of all.

It has been functioning for 3 years now, and its "work" can really be evaluated in a single respect only--the one that governs the whole, that definitively gives the true dimension of any parliamentary institution: namely, the possibility of broad, free, far-reaching and responsible debate.

The chamber of deputies is called Majlis (literally, "place where one sits") because its members are supposed to take their place there to listen, debate, sometimes to hear what is not always pleasing, to discuss and finally deliberate and decide with knowledge of matters, in the interest of the country.

But in order for there to be a Majlis convened, it is first necessary to have people to sit and enter into discussion. But the absenteeism of the "majority" is becoming more and more a permanent fact; one-third of this famous cohort of divergent interests attends the session--although this "one-third Majlis" is subject to rapid rotation of the deputies who make it up, with a very few exceptions.

This "al-thulth al-salih" itself perceives its mission in a curious manner: instead of mastering the problems in order to solve them, it wants to block debate so as not to hear them spoken of. This allergy to discussion on the part of the "one-third majority" falsifies all the relationships within the Majlis: between the opposition and the "majority," between the members of parliament and the chamber's staff, between the parliament and the government.

The opposition tries to do its work: to criticize, check, present alternatives; but the "majority," which should in principle bend the government's policy in the direction of the popular aspirations, conceives its role dif-

ferently: it is not there to explain, argue, defend the policy of those who have made it the "majority," but solely to keep the opposition quiet--to such a point that even within the "majority," the ministers no longer take account of the deputies in their "formation," and these deputies no longer make themselves heard even in their own circles. The result is that the Majlis, which was supposed to control things, to get things going, is becoming, through the Chamber's administrative staff and the committees, the means for ensuring total docility. [Its] instructions coming from the government, the latter, feeling itself freed of all constraint, becomes more and more demanding toward its "majority" so as to palliate its insufficiencies, to soft-pedal its errors. The governmental deputies thus have no usefulness except to interpose to prevent the opposition from speaking. The case of Ali Yata, prevented from speaking, and the incident that it caused, with the exit of the entire Ittihadiah (USFP [Socialist Union of Popular Forces]) opposition, is nothing new: on the occasion of the discussion of the Finance Act in 1977 and 1978, other incidents occurred. And this represents a very disturbing development.

For the Majlis is in fact becoming a veritable "Madvaz"--that is, a passageway. For some, it is the dreamed-of route for business affairs; for others, it is a supplementary circuit in the administrative machinery. The government considers it an obligatory but useless channel for the laws, and the deputies of the "majority" consider it the convenient route for solving their personal problems: the success enjoyed by certain committees in which the debate is transformed into personal complaints speaks volumes about the "interest" which certain deputies have in the affairs of the country.

The result of this mess is that this year, precise instructions came obliging certain deputies to vote for the budget of certain ministries. The feeling of the failure of the Majlis has even reached the government circles: the television and radio report the Chamber's proceedings less and less, or if they do so, they compress the information, making it useless or incomprehensible.

Under these conditions, what is the role of the opposition? Well, just as it has fought and continues to fight for the openness of the elections, it continues likewise to struggle against those who want to make the democratic institutions a matter of mere decorum. This is what democracy costs, and without this struggle at all levels, any institution runs the risk of losing its reasons for being.

11267  
CSO: 4400

PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY ACCUSED OF NOT ACTING ON PROBLEMS

Casablanca LIBERATION in French 4-10 Jan 80 p 15

[Article by Abou Bakkar: "Point of View--The Moroccan Parliament at the Beginning of Its Third Year"]

[Text] With the opening of its October session for the year 1979-1980, the chamber of representatives is beginning its third and next-to-last year of its 1977-1981 term.

It is often asserted that the Moroccan parliamentary experience is a model for Africa, Latin America and the Third World in general.

How does such an assertion look 2 years after the establishment of the chamber of representatives?

Has the Moroccan parliament been effectively associated in the management of public affairs?

During these 24 months, have the positions it has taken reflected the will of the Moroccan people?

Does this experience promise a better democratic future?

In our opinion, the answer to these questions must necessarily include analysis of the role of the Ittihadiah (USFP [Socialist Union of Popular Forces]) opposition in the parliament and reflection on the work of the chamber of representatives.

It should be recalled in the first place that the USFP protested in 1977 against "the gerrymandering of the legislative elections and the falsification of the popular will." Only some 20 deputies, including the Ittihadiah opposition (the name given to the USFP's parliamentary group), form the opposition in the Moroccan parliament, against three parliamentary groups--the Independents (RNI [National Rally of Independents]), the Istiqlal ( ) and the Popular Movement (MP)--represented in the government by secretaries of state and ministers, respectively.

From 1977 to the present, the Ittihadiah opposition has never, with very few exceptions, backed the government's policy.

Thus, it has voted against the 3-year plan, against the finance bills for the preceding years, and with a few exceptions, against all bills. In these circumstances, how is one to explain the presence of the Ittihadiah opposition in the Moroccan parliament?

The USFP parliamentary group, being a minority, knows pointedly that power of decision in the matter of legislation and control of governmental action belongs to the majority.

In this regard, the Socialist deputies declare that they have made no commitment to those who elected them other than to "bare publicly the failures of the government's policy." Their criticism therefore takes the form of criticism aimed at the government, from the rostrum of the chamber of representatives.

It remains to be determined whether this right is being fully exercised. Last June, the grouped majority rejected the opposition's demand to open a debate on the report of the parliamentary committee charged to conduct an inquiry into "leaks of the subjects" for the baccalaureate examinations.

The Independents and the Istiqlalians had appropriated to themselves the opposition's initiative in setting up this committee. The discussion of this report, confirming by 17 votes out of 21 (the committee vote) the existence of leaks, should in principle have resulted in the individual resignation of the minister of national education and cadre training (Istiqlal) or the collective resignation of the government.

The chamber of representatives certainly experienced some critical moments when it had to choose between the results of the committee's work and the declarations of the minister denying the existence of leaks. Was the decision of the chamber of representatives the logical outcome of the process of inquiry launched by the parliament? For the second time, the parliament refused to start discussion of the report of the parliamentary committee for expurgation and settlement of the chamber's accounts for fiscal 1977. This time, the report brought out "irregularities" committed by the financial administrator-deputies in the management of the parliament's budget.

It was judged incomplete, it seems, and sent back to the committee for re-examination.

Finally, on the eve of 'Id-al-Adha, the parliament passed two bills without any discussion of them and without the rapporteurs reading the committees' reports on the subject. These reports relate to international agreements made by Morocco with Switzerland and Belgium, effecting transfer to the Moroccan state of properties of the nationals of these two countries, and compensation for them.

Furthermore, it is to be noted that certain deputies take on the defense of the policy of certain ministerial departments whose portfolios are held by their parties. The question arises whether a deputy belonging to a given political party should or should not ask a minister of the same party for an accounting. As regards the work of the chamber of representatives, it is to be noted that certain events which in our opinion are serious ones pass unnoticed and do not arouse the least reaction by parliament. A number of economic, social and political problems have found no solution these days and have not even been discussed. At present, no law has been passed that benefits broad sectors of the population.

Seven hundred teachers and employees of the Ministry of Health have been dismissed, as a result of last year's strikes. Some have been sentenced to prison terms, at a time when our country has still not met its needs for cadres for this year.

Seven hundred families have been deprived of their daily bread without the least reaction from the representatives of the nation.

It is to be noted that the employers called to the government-employer dialogue as a result of last year's strikes consisted mainly of deputies.

Is this the reason why the parliament believed it had to keep quiet in this way about social demands?

The more realistic bills on the subject of rents submitted by the Ittihadiah opposition and the Party of Progress and Socialism have been set aside. A parliamentary committee is presently examining a bill which is called a combination bill but actually, in its preamble, sanctions speculation-- that is, the law of supply and demand.

Prices have skyrocketed, even for basic necessities and despite the government's pledges, without arousing the least protest by the deputies of the majority formation. The list is a long one, and we consider that as of the present, the parliament has neither discussed nor taken measures to cope with the country's serious problems, economic, social and political. It is urgent to think about these problems, and not to leave the initiative for their solution to the future representatives of the nation.

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'UKAZ' CALLS FOR TOUGH U.S. STAND AGAINST SOVIET INVASION

LD281027 Jidda 'UKAZ in Arabic 22 Jan 80 p 1 LD

[Untitled editorial]

[Excerpts] Will the present U.S. move vis-a-vis the Afghanistan crisis be proportionate with the U.S. President's declaration--that Soviet intervention in Afghanistan is the greatest threat to world peace since World War II. This is a question that we put to the U.S. administration and the Western countries in general because it is clear that the Soviet Union has so far been trying to take the initiative in implementing its expansionist policy which is based on communist principles while Western reaction is weakening. This is evident in the fact that the West has so far failed to adopt a united stand in the face of the blatant Soviet violation of all international principles and covenants and all detente agreements since World War II.

The U.S. President has stressed that the Soviet Union must be penalized before its threat to peaceful peoples escalates. We believe that the U.S. administration is trying to rally the Western and international powers into entering a confrontation with Moscow, though not according to the Soviet pattern but from behind the scenes. [as published]

Although Washington has taken a series of measures, these are not sufficient to halt the communist advance in central Asia. It has become necessary to forge a united international stand that is capable of curbing the present Soviet policy because the dangers of this policy not only threaten the areas within its immediate sphere of influence but also the whole world, particularly the Western countries and the United States. And this makes it incumbent upon the U.S. administration to reshape its moves so as to confront the Soviets in a deterring rather than an appeasing manner.

From an Islamic standpoint, the Islamic foreign ministers conference to be held in Islamabad comes at a most critical stage in Islamic history since communism has revealed its objective of undermining the Islamic religion through the troubles it stirs up in the Islamic world. This situation requires that the conference be different from all other conferences so that the Islamic voice will be effective along with the international efforts to curb communist ambitions and restore stability to the tense area on the basis of principles of international law and the right of peoples to self-determination.

Therefore, we call upon the United States and the Western world to realize the actual fact and dimension of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan so that the response to it might safeguard the world's safety and security and keep the world free of the risks of cold war and of troublespots.

CSO: 4802

SAUDI COMMITMENT TO ISLAMIC SOLIDARITY STRESSED

Jiddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 27 Dec 79 p 12

[Editorial by Khalid Muhammad Bashwiyah]

[Text] It is apparent that the Islamic community, which is gradually arousing itself to return to the glories of the past so that it will be able to continue on its course along the road of life, is spreading the principles of justice and right which it has obtained from the true Islamic Shar'iyah. The Islamic community's movement in this direction is coupled with the timing of a call for Islamic solidarity, which the Saudi Arabian Kingdom has been advocating since the Arabian Peninsula was unified, in view of the dangers threatening the Islamic peoples because of the imperialist teeth to which we are exposed. In short, one can set forth the aspects of the Islamic community's impetus in three stages.

First. The Kingdom's founder, the late King 'Abd al-'Aziz, became convinced that the betterment of Moslems lay only in their unity and solidarity, which would restore them to their place in the world, especially as the reign of King 'Abd al-'Aziz was contemporaneous with the collapse of a number of Islamic nations under the imperialist yoke in all its forms and types. By means of an ideology which relied on the Islamic Shar'iyah, 'Abd al-'Aziz was able to display the banner of unification and to extend unification of the Arabian Peninsula over a wide area; this included bringing together scattered parts of the Islamic community. The founding leader's call only became crystalized during the reign of the late King Faysal, when he began to build the strategic basis for combining the appeal for solidarity with the demands of the Islamic people. Saudi foreign policy emerged during this stage through a purely Islamic channel, with the goal of restoring the Islamic community's status and leading it away from the unjust circles to which it had been subjected since the collapse of the Islamic nation and its disintegration by the imperialist forces.

Second. This is the stage of the Islamic peoples' awareness of the importance of the Kingdom's appeal, whether in support of their solidarity or in restoring the ways of the Shar'iyah within their communities, especially since a number of Islamic communities, as a result of imperialist policy, had begun to become tinted with a hue far removed from Islam. This was manifested in manmade laws far from adherence to Islamic concepts. The responsibility

for this was confined to the regimes which ruled the Islamic nations. But the awareness of the necessity for Islamic solidarity was based on a number of dangers which surrounded the appeal, including the perils of Zionism and communism, prompting a complete change in the statements of the regimes in the Islamic nations; this brought about positive results, represented by the return to Islamic responsibilities in all aspects of life.

Third. This was the phase of the movement to deepen the understanding of solidarity and adherence to the concepts of the Shar'iyah. The Kingdom, with the leadership of King Khalid playing a noble part in this area, affirmed the nobility of the appeal, which it had been pursuing for half a century, to restore the Islamic community's identity. Whenever the history of the contemporary phase of the Moslems' state of being is completed, the Saudi role will occupy a place of prominence in it, based on the one hand on bold leadership in spreading the Islamic call, and also in spurring the peoples and regimes to reshape their lives through Islamic ways. Undoubtedly that stage has produced several gains which have had considerable influence on the entire Islamic community, because Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and other Islamic states have in fact begun to coordinate their policies in ways embraced by the Islamic Shar'iyah. In my view, the Kingdom has made a clear imprint on this area through its leadership's desire to deepen its contacts with Islamic leaderships, so that these governments would be fully apprised of the Kingdom's experience in continuing to ensure that the Shar'iyah will pour forth through the economic, political, and social arteries of life.

The visit to the Kingdom by Pakistani President Muhammad Zia al-Haqq and the deliberations which he had with King Khalid revolved around this framework, which represents constant nourishment to a commonality binding Pakistan to the concepts of the Islamic Shar'iyah. This is a matter which is becoming clear to Pakistan, and President Zia al-Haqq has a clear and prominent position in which to rid the Pakistani community of manmade laws and replace them with Islamic laws derived from the Shar'iyah, along the lines of the current application in the Kingdom. Naturally that form of application is in complete conformity with the framework within which the Shar'iyah operates, since it is coupled with humanitarian understanding, as opposed to some of the other forms which to a degree affect international understanding of the precepts of the Islamic faith. These must be restored to the correct path if indeed they are to operate within the Islamic Shar'iyah.

One can say that the Islamic community must decide on moderation, expressing its solidarity as one community on the one hand, and confirming the Islamic peoples' bonds to their faith on the other. This would cause the imperialist forces to have to reckon with the power of the Islamic community. It remains to be said that Pakistan, with its persistence and insistence on implementing its nuclear program in peaceful ways, certainly can depend upon a broad Islamic foundation comprised of the Islamic community's position in the world, which assures our confidence in its ability to achieve this program, not just for itself, but also in terms of benefiting the entire Islamic community, which is facing challenges directed against it. This is a subject for future discussion in this corner, God willing.

CALL FOR COORDINATION TO COUNTER WESTERN MEDIA CAMPAIGN

Jiddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 24 Dec 79 p 16

[Editorial by Khalid Muhammad Bashwiyah]

[Text] The media's importance is well known as an effective weapon, with the same effectiveness as artillery and missiles, to protect the civilized gains of society by means of a media framework impenetrable to forces hostile to the community's development and growth. That theoretical image of the media is, in fact, being changed, through organized and precise planning, into a movement whose purpose is to prepare the means of media so that they can be early warning outposts to guarantee the preservation of the community's identity.

The observer cannot deny that the Gulf region generally, and the Kingdom in particular, are being subjected at the present time to a foreign media campaign with the goal of penetrating the security barrier behind which we live. This was the impetus for the meeting of information ministers of the region, promoted by Information Minister Dr Muhammad 'Abduh Yamani, to support the agreement on the ministers' agenda for responsible steps to counteract the biased media attacks and to expose them, in addition to defining a unified strategy to defend the gains of the region. Because we, as everyone knows, are peaceful people who do not attempt to enter into media wrangles which divert us from our concern about developing our community and raising its status to the image of a superior civilized society.

In my view, the media operation of the Gulf states, with the Kingdom in the forefront, is taking on a defensive nature, based on a policy of evenhandedness and prudence as marked by decisions of the region's nations. The defensive framework is always typically expressed by love of coexistence and conciliation. Because of the media's abrupt change to the offensive, the basis upon which societies are built will be altered. This is not what we, the sons of this region, want. During the events of the attack against the Grand Mosque, we were subjected by spurious media to vicious attacks, which led to the drawing up of a defensive media plan that succeeded in protecting the community and exposing the lies by which they tried to penetrate our security barrier. The Saudi media, in this phase, earned the



confidence of the entire world because it spoke the truth. The foreign media was disgraced because the lies it reported were exposed. In the same proportion that this poisonous foreign media was defeated, so was the Saudi media successful, thus confirming our unyielding defense of this land. When this spurious media spread the fires of hatred, rancor, and envy against us, it found a great wall crashing against it. That wall was self-confidence and the power to resist the media poison circulating against us.

Despite all this, we remained in a defensive posture, because that has been a distinguishing characteristic of ours since the founding of this great Kingdom. We could have gone on the offensive simply as a reaction to the foreign media's attack, but strength of character and confidence prevented us from tearing the shackles from our deep-seated principles and flinging the evil arrows back into the hearts of those who shot them.

That is the Kingdom's position regarding the media. As for the Arab Gulf states, they had the confidence of the international community, which understood the truth of their position and the correctness of the course being pursued through their economic and political decisions. Despite the viciousness of the campaign to which the region was subjected with respect to the high cost of what their leadership and people are defending, whether in their security or in their stability, victory was its ally. It is just a matter of referring to history, because this is a region which has confirmed that its firm principles are the rock against which all greedy desires are smashed.

Therefore, the Arab Gulf states' information ministers reached a decision to cooperate on local and international levels, within the framework of a single plan, to rectify the image which Zionist forces and enemies of the region are continually trying to distort.

The precept of the Gulf media is based on objective truth; this is a far cry from the foreign media, which is passionately devoted to vituperation, and from whose jelly-like being are spread lies and fabrications.

It remains for us to propel the truth forward, defending it with confidence through sound media channels, filled with love and devotion to mankind. It is enough that Information Minister Dr Muhammad 'Abduh Yamani referred to the fact that we should use the media to achieve a spirit of mutual understanding and peace in the international community. Is the spurious media aware of this concept, so that it can change its image of hatred? Instead of being submerged in a morass of lies and deceit, it should return to the concepts of truthful media practices, in order to strengthen relations among the international family. That question is directed at the press in the United States and at certain Western newspapers, which were an evil reflection of their societies through their campaign of hatred against the Kingdom and the Arab Gulf states.

## BRIEFS

**SAND MOVEMENT STUDY**--The Institute of Applied Research of the University of Petroleum has recently submitted to both the Ministry of Communications and the General Railroad Organization the results of a study concerning sand movement in the Eastern Province. Dr 'Abullah al-Dabbagh, director of the Institute, explained to AL-MADINAH that the studies included serious attempts to find practical solutions for the phenomenon of unusual accumulations of sand on the public roads and railroads in the Eastern Province. It costs the state exorbitant amounts each year to carry out maintenance operations on these roads. Moreover, it costs Aramco huge amounts annually to stabilize the sand around the liquid gas works currently being constructed. This study includes research on the movements of sand in the region, and their relationship with the prevailing winds during different seasons of the year, by means of 10 instruments placed at various locations along the Abqiq-Dhahran road which monitor the sand movements and measure the average accumulation of sand. The Institute developed these instruments, currently being used in southwestern America, because they fit in well with prevailing conditions in the Kingdom. The results of this study will lead in the long run to future construction of cities and manufacturing facilities at locations not exposed to sand accumulation. [Text] [Jiddah AL-MADINAH in Arabic 1 Jan 80 p 2] 7005

**FISH FARMS PROJECT**--The Ministry of Agriculture and Water has decided that Saudi research workers will manage the fish farms project to be constructed on the Red Sea coast near Jiddah. The purpose of this project is to provide a living model for Saudi investors who wish to invest their money in raising fish, by supplying them with small fish for breeding and with the necessary expertise. Professor 'Abd al-Latif al-'Ajaji, undersecretary of the Ministry of Agriculture and Water for agricultural research and developmental affairs, is currently making the necessary arrangements to guarantee the continuation of work with regard to the project of development and research into the fishery resources of the Kingdom, following the completion of the cooperation agreement between the Ministry and the British white fish organization. Professor Salim Bamfallah, director general of the Agricultural Research Center in the western region, said that it had now become possible for Saudi officials to carry out fishery directives and development and achieve the desired growth operations, after having obtained broad training. There is no longer a need to conclude new agreements in this sphere. He referred

to the fact that there are four Saudis studying abroad to prepare for master's and doctorate degrees in fishery and fishery development studies. Their return to the country is expected soon in order to add to the country's present expertise. [Text] [Jiddah AL-MADINAH in Arabic 1 Jan 80 p 3] 7005

REPORT ON IMPORTS--The Kingdom's imports of automobiles during the past year fell by 10 percent, whereas imports of iron rose 70 percent, cement 10 percent, foodstuffs 36 percent, and sheep and goats 15 percent. This was reported in the annual statistical report issued by the General Ports Organization concerning goods entering the Kingdom's ports during the past year. The report stated that the number of automobiles entering the Kingdom via the ports totaled 314,0004, as compared with the previous year's total of 349,826. Also, the Kingdom's imports of iron totaled 2,871,453 tons, as compared with the previous year's total of 1,684,187 tons. The Kingdom's cement imports this past year amounted to 8,672,769 tons, whereas the total for the previous year was 7,903,031 tons. The Kingdom's imports of foodstuffs entering via the ports during the past year rose to 6,771,575 tons, compared to the previous year's total of 4,988,451 tons. Sheep and goats entering via the ports last year amounted to 2,924,323 head, compared to the previous year's total of 2,532,559. [Text] [Riyadh AL-RIYADH in Arabic 3 Jan 80 p 2] 7005

CSO: 4802

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

PAPER SAYS UNITED STATES BEHIND QAFSAH INCIDENTS

NC050736 Abu Dhabi Emirates News Agency in Arabic 0610 GMT 5 Feb 80 NC

[From the Press Review]

["Text" of Abu Dhabi paper AL-WAHDAH's 5 February unattributed editorial]

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 5 February--There are numerous indications that the United States was behind the fabrication of the Qafsah incidents in Tunisia and that the aim was to pave the way for an attack on the Libyan Arab Jamahiriyyah with the French forces playing a major role and forming the other jaw of pincers to complement the Egyptian-Israeli concentrations on Libya's borders.

While an imminent attack on Libya within the next few days awaits the green light, the Arabs still have a chance to move quickly and strongly to confront the U.S. plot and prove themselves and demonstrate a minimum degree of solidarity as agreed at the Baghdad and Tunis conferences.

It also remains for the Arabs to define their position toward France, whose forces have turned into U.S. intervention forces meant to strike at the Third World states. These forces now return to implement U.S. and Zionist plans in our Arab Maghreb, 18 years after the bloodbath they inflicted on Algeria.

Furthermore, we remind "those who claim to know everything" of the French military intervention in Mauritania, Chad and Zaire, and of the French arms shipments to the Zionist entity and the racist regime in South Africa, and of France's participation in the imperialist plots to undermine the unity of the African states and the rest of the Third World.

The recent developments in the Arab Maghreb are no less serious than the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. While hoping that Tunisia will ask the French forces to leave its territory, we call for an emergency meeting of Arab foreign ministers in order to contain the new dangers and settle Arab differences away from flagrant foreign intervention.

CSO: 4802

'OPERATION OHOUDE,' MOROCCAN DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS NOTED

Dakar AFRICA in French Jan 80 pp 21-23

[Article by Attilio Gaudio]

[Text] King Hassan is convinced that peace will reign in the Sahara in 1980 and that his own peace plan will finally be accepted in Africa and elsewhere. However, he feels that Morocco should first establish itself militarily in the Sahara before being able to speak of peace. To secure this position of strength, the Moroccan army is in the process of installing a second special detachment in the Sahara like the "Ohoud" group; and a third detachment will soon come to join the first two.

Thus the king thinks that with these three attachments using helicopters and tanks, Morocco will have military control of the Sahara; and, if he wants to buy American arms, it is not for political reasons, he says, but simply because they are the best arms. Moroccan pilots, accustomed to the "F-5," could easily adapt themselves to the "F-5E"; and the "OV-10" reconnaissance plane permits control of the vast desert spaces. As for helicopters, Morocco does not want to buy the "Cobra," which is too costly, but a simple model, probably the "Bell AH-1 S Tow."

50 Million African Financial Community Francs Per Day

The war in the Sahara, in fact, costs Morocco \$250,000 per day. Moroccan determination to keep the Sahara, according to Hassan II, is not only based on historical reasons but also on the fact that Morocco cannot henceforth accept the presence of a POLISARIO state on its border, which would be a Soviet satellite. The country would thus be boxed in, between the Atlantic, the Mediterranean and, to the south and east, the Russians and Algerians.

The king of Morocco is convinced that the Soviet Union is back of the Sahara affair: the tactical planning is done by the Cubans, who lead the POLISARIO attacks; and all the arms come from Libya, which they obtain from Moscow for this purpose. Hassan II compares Soviet tactics in Africa to those of a climbing parrot: "He puts down one foot, then the second foot, and climbs the tree with the help of his beak. He climbs like a lineman on a telegraph



pole. Those are the Russian tactics: first, there was Angola, then Congo-Brazzaville, then Ethiopia and after that the Sahara..."

In the army, the men are convinced that the king knows what he is talking about and that in fact "peace would reign totally in the Sahara within a few months from now," as he stated on the occasion of the anniversary of the Green March. Those in the military think that things will work out: either they will receive the arms and troops they need or there will be developments at the diplomatic level.

The determination of the Moroccan officers seems equally strong. Those who hold positions of responsibility say that they do not want war with Algeria but are ready to fight on in the event there is a need to defend the Sahara into which their country "has sunk its roots." They are openly elated by the change in tactics of the POLISARIO which has elected to replace its harassing operations with massive attacks by successive waves of combatants, in accordance with tactics tried in Indochina and Korea. Thus the fighting has begun to look more like a classical war in which the Moroccan army feels more comfortable.

This change in tactics, the Moroccan officers point out, coincided with the time of President Boumediene's death when the men recruited in Tiris-El-Gharbia (the area previously administered by Mauritania but now recovered by Morocco) and particularly in Mauritania have completed their training at Tindouf, Algiers and Tripoli and have become operational.

The battles of Bir Anzaran, Smara and Boucraa are considered victories by the Moroccan army, as they permitted the air force to fully participate. The "F-1 Mirage," the Moroccan officers say, has even exceeded expectations because of its capability of fighting night and day and its speed, permitting it to fly by at low altitude before being detected by "Sam-7" gunners. This has allowed the Moroccans to partially make up for their inferiority vis-a-vis the POLISARIO in the arms sector.

#### Change in Strategy

The change in strategy revealed by "Operation Ohoud" played a big role in the recovery of optimism by the Moroccan officers. Many of them wanted a change to a more dynamic defense and a reinforcement of the garrisons entrenched in the desert with new troops from the north. "If we have to live forever in a war economy," some say, "we will do so, for we can reject the advantages of Western civilization and be content with bread and dates. We are a rustic people."

After the battle of Smara, the reinforcement of the Western Saharan's holy city permitted its command to say that the POLISARIO would not again attack Smara. Several kilometers outside the city of Ma-El-Ainin, long trenches in fact cut across the desert from one hill to the other; they are for the purpose of stopping POLISARIO vehicles. The forward posts are much further

out, between 12 and 15 kilometers from the center of town. The immediate outskirts are also protected by a network of posts located on the high ground overlooking Smara. Batteries of cannons cover the city's access roads. The artillerymen and their officers live in underground shelters, near the batteries, which are difficult to pick out by an enemy observer.

Surveillance is maintained by lookouts, jeep patrols, helicopters and assorted electronic equipment, such as the "RASIT" [expansion unknown] which detects a person on foot as far away as 20 and even 40 kilometers. The battle of Smara (125 dead and wounded on the Moroccan side, over 1,000 dead according to the POLISARIO) doubtless taught some lessons; and a second regiment was added to the infantry regiment reinforced by "AML" [expansion unknown] armored vehicles. This doubling of forces will now permit the assuring of protection over a 100-kilometer radius.

Morocco's position in the diplomatic sector, after the Monrovia "Committee of Wise Men" [Comite des Sages] made a controversial decision at the beginning of December on the withdrawal of Moroccan troops from the former Spanish Sahara, was explained to us in detail by the Moroccan minister of foreign affairs, M'hamed Boucetta.

As a matter of fact, the French and Arab versions of the OAU resolution adopted in Monrovia are different in one respect from the English text: the latter demands that Morocco immediately "withdraw its troops and administration from the area evacuated by Mauritania," while the Arab translation and particularly the French translation (which was distributed to newsmen) stated that the withdrawal of troops covered all of the Western Sahara.

The secretary-general of the OAU, Mr. Kodjo, said afterward that only the English version was the correct one and that the material error had slipped into the other texts. Although the Wise Men judged Hassan II's defection severely, they still did not wish to shut the door to dialog; and their document goes no further than the resolution approved by the UN General Assembly on 21 November which urges Morocco to evacuate the whole of the Western Sahara.

### Territorial Integrity

Replying to a question about why Morocco agreed to the establishment of a Committee of Wise Men knowing all the while that some members of this committee support Algerian positions, Boucetta said that Morocco has always considered the problem of the Sahara an Arab and African affair and felt that each official on the committee was going to handle his responsibilities with complete impartiality and without bias. However, after establishment of the committee, Morocco noted that some of its members did not meet these criteria. Nevertheless, the minister added, Morocco has always responded positively to all initiatives taken to improve the situation.

The problem of decolonization is ended for Rabat. Therefore, it is "no longer a question of seeking a consensus in the sense of concession or compro-

mise but of telling everyone that what is involved is the problem of our territorial integrity..." said Boucetta, who feels that "the lock, stock and barrel [toutes pieces] creation in our subregion" of the Sahara problem "runs counter to the Arab cause. That is why Morocco has always accepted Arab initiatives and is doing everything it can to create the conditions necessary for a meeting between Moroccan and Algerian leaders. This Moroccan line of conduct has remained the same since Amgala I, when large units of the Algerian regular army, estimated at 2,700 soldiers, were surrounded by the Royal Armed Forces (...) This initiative came from Iraq; and Morocco responded favorably, which permitted the Algerian army to disengage and return to its bases of departure, safe and sound. Other Arab initiatives followed that one, including those of President Bourguiba and Saudi Arabia."

Morocco, Boucetta said, has given its approval to all these initiatives; and refusals did not come from the other party. As for President Tolbert's visit to Rabat and the meeting of the OAU's Committee of Wise Men, the head of the Moroccan diplomatic corps said that the Liberian president had been apprised nearly 2 months before his visit of Hassan II's proposal to reunite the riparian countries of the Sahara. "We noted following this that the idea was purely and simply discarded and that there is no longer any talk except about the recommendations of the CAU," the minister concluded.

Questioned about the vote of the UN fourth commission and the failure of Morocco to present a counterresolution and about the withdrawal of Morocco's complaint against Algeria addressed to the Security Council, Boucetta said that as regards the first point, the fourth commission was going to debate a problem of decolonization while, for Morocco, the problem involved the attainment of national integrity. "Decolonization having been completed, today there can only be question of Morocco's territorial integrity. It was at the recommendation of the Security Council that in 1975 Morocco entered into negotiations with the state occupying the region, Spain at the time. These negotiations ended in the Madrid agreements of 14 November 1975. Morocco has executed all of these clauses, thus fulfilling a basic principle, namely the attainment of territorial integrity."

#### Artificial Tension

Morocco has always been eager to have the Saharan question examined within an African framework. As for the conditions of impartiality and clarity which will have to be present for Morocco to agree to participate in the OAU's Committee of Wise Men, Boucetta said that he considers that the following has already been submitted to this organization: "the tension existing in the region, tension artificially created so to speak to defend and have a principle respected," and that the other problems of the Sahara should not be forgotten: the territories which were cut away from Morocco and added to Algeria when France considered it a French province. Thus, "to the extent that this Committee of Wise Men wishes to prepare the atmosphere for contact between the Moroccan and Algerian leaders, Morocco is in agreement," as "this conflict is between Morocco and Algeria."

To a question relating to possible internationalization of the conflict and the intervention of the two blocs, since Morocco is considered a nonaligned country, the minister of foreign affairs said, although European colonialism in Africa had ended or is in the process of disappearing, and the African people no longer have to fight against colonizing powers, "We Africans have begun to confront one another, for obvious or hidden reasons. Apparently, the conflict in our region is a conflict which pits Morocco and Algeria against one another; however, the repercussions of this conflict on the question of the Middle East shows that it is desired in order to disperse Arab efforts so that they will not be concentrated on their vital question: that of Palestine."

Similarly, the Moroccan minister continued, what is happening in the Horn of Africa, the creation of divisions among African countries, destabilization of East Africa, are creating a state of tension between different ideological or religious sectors. "The strings are being manipulated for apparent reasons but also for reasons not yet clarified. As regards Morocco, an Arab and Moslem country, it is ready to assure the defense of values inherited from its Arab-Moslem civilization."

#### Desire for Hegemony

Boucetta next recalled that the question of the Sahara was brought up for the first time before the Arab League and that Morocco had from the outset demanded its support, either officially or through its political leaders. "The idea was firmed up at the time of the Arab summit held in Rabat in 1974. Every Arab country then clarified its position, including Algeria through its president, the late Houari Boumediene; however, this country renounced its commitments and decided to follow a hostile policy which is not justified except by its desire for hegemony, something that Morocco will never accept. Morocco has refused to submit to this desire for hegemony; tension has prevailed in the region and has undergone certain escalation which weakened both Morocco and Algeria as much by the loss of human lives as by material expenditures."

As concerns the situation on the ground, "Operation Ohoud" and the operations to follow "will attempt to clean out the region and will permit the Royal Armed Forces to have the initiative with adequate resources to repel any form of aggression in a nonconventional way," the head of the Moroccan diplomatic corps concluded.

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